

RELIGVIÆ SACRÆ
CAROLINÆ.

OR THE

WORKS

OF THAT

GREAT MONARCH

AND

GLORIOUS MARTYR

King CHARLES the I.

Collected together, and digested in order,
according to their severall Subjects,
CIVIL and SACRED.

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2 King 23. 25. *And like unto him there was no
King before him, that turned to the Lord with
all his heart, &c.*

Heb. 11. 4. *Being dead, he yet speaketh.*



H A G U E,

Printed by Samuëll Browne. 1651.



SERENISS. PRINCIPI AC DOMINO *CAROLO*
II. FILIO NAT. MAJ. *CAR. I.* MARTYRIO
CORONATI,

VIRTVTVM PATERN. ANTITYP. VERO
REGN. HÆRED. AC SVCCES. INDVBIO.
AVITÆ RELIG. LEGVM AC LIBERTAT.
[QVAS IMPIA NOVATORVM RABIES CON-
CVLCAVIT]
INSTAVRATORI DESIDERATIS.

SACRAS HASCE SANCTISS. MARTYRIS
RELIQVIAS,

DIVINOS MENTIS HEROICÆ
PARTVS.

ÆTFRNA VIRTVT. REGIARVM
MONVMENTA,

HN MILIME CONSECRAT
MAJEST. VESTRÆ SVBDITVS.

PART. NVPER SERVVS
DEVOTISS.



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Severall

Severall Speeches delivered by His Majesty
to the two houses at *Westminster*, and other
places, since the beginning of this
PARLIAMENT.

*His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the first
meeting. Novemb. 3. 1640.*

My Lords,

He knowledge I had of the designs of my
Scottish Subjects, was the cause of my
calling the last assembly of Parliament,
wherein had I been believed, I sincerely
think, that things had not fallen out as
now we see. But it is no wonder that men
are so slow to believe that so great a sedition should be
raised on so little ground. But now my Lords, and
Gentlemen, the honour and safety of this Kingdom
lying so neerly at the Stake; I am resolved, to put my
self freely and cleerly on the love and affections of my
English Subjects, as those of my Lords that did wait
on me at *Torke*, very well remember I there declared.
Therefore my Lords, I shall not mention mine owne
interest. or that support I might justly expect from
you till the common safety be secured: though I must
tell you, I am not ashamed to say, those charges I
have been at, have been meerly for the securing and
good of this Kingdom, though the successe hath not
been

been answerable to my desires. Therefore I shall only desire you to consider the best way both for the safety and security of this Kingdom, wherein there are two parts chiefly considerable, First, the chasing out of the Rebels. And secondly, that other, in satisfying your just grievances, wherein I shall promise you to concur so heartily and cleerly with you, that all the World may see my intentions have ever been, and shall be, to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdome. There are only two things more that I shall mention to you: The one is to tell you, that the Loan of money which I lately had from the City of *London*, wherein the Lords that waited on me at *York* assisted me, will only maintaine my Army for two moneths from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now my Lords, and Gentlemen, I leave it to your considerations, what dishonour and mischief it might be, in case for want of mony my Army be disbanded, before the Rebels be put out of this Kingdom. Secondly, the securing the calamities the Northern people endure at this time, and so long as the Treaty is on foot. And in this I may say, not only they, but all this Kingdom will suffer the harm; therefore I leave this also to your consideration. For the ordering of these great affairs, whereof you are to treat at this time, I am so confident of your love to me, and that your care is such for the honour and safety of the Kingdom, that I shall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin: only this, that you may the better know the estate of all the affairs, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to give you a short and free account of those things that have happened in this interim, with this Protestation; and if his account be not satisfactory as it ought to be, I shall whensoever you desire, give you a full and perfect account of every particular. One thing more I desire of you, as one of the

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the greatest means to make this a happy Parliament; that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another; as I promised my Lords at *Torke*, it shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good Parliament.

His Majesties second Speech in the House of Lords,
November 5. 1640.

My Lords,

I do expect that you will hastily make Relation to the House of Commons, of those great affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the trust I have reposed in them, and how freely I put my self on their love and affections at this time: and that you may know the better how to doe so, I shall explaine my selfe concerning one thing I spake the last day. I told you the Rebels must be put out of this Kingdom; tis true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an Army that do invade us, although I am under Treaty with them, and under my great Seal do call them Subjects; and so they are too. But the state of my affairs in short is this; its true, I did expect when I did will my Lords and great ones to be at *Torke*, to have given a gracious answer to all your grievances; for I was in good hope by their wisdomes and assistances to have made an end of that businesse: but I must tell you, that my Subjects of *Scotland* did so delay them, that it was not possible to end there: therefore I can no wayes blame my Lords that were at *Rippon*, that the Treaty was not ended; but must thanke them for their pains and industry: and certainly had they as much power as affections, I should by that time have brought these distempers to a happy period; so that now the Treaty is transported from *Rippon* to *London*, where

I shall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation: for I do not desire to have this great work done in a corner; for I shall lay open all the steps of this mis-understanding, and the causes of the great differences between me and my Subjects of *Scotland*. And I doubt not but by your assistance to make them know their duty, and also by your assistance to make them returne whether they will or no.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the Banqueting-house in White-Hall. January 25.

1649.

My Lords, **T**He Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses; the principall cause of my comming here at this time, is by reason of the slow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience.

Therefore I think it very necessary to lay before you the state of my affairs as now they stand, thereby to hasten (not to interrupt) your proceedings.

First, I must remember you that there are two Armies in the Kingdom, in a manner maintained by you, the very naming of which, doth more cleerly shew the inconvenience thereof, than a better tongue than mine can expresse.

Therefore in the first place, I shall recommend unto you the quick dispatch of that businesse, assuring you that it cannot rest upon me.

In the next place I must recommend unto you the state of my Navy and Forts; the condition of both which is so well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars, only thus much, they are the walls and defence of this Kingdom, which if out of order, all men may easily judge what encouragement it

it will be to our Enemies, and what disheartning to our Friends.

Last of all, (and not the Least to be considered) I must lay before you the distractions that are at this present occasioned through the connivence of Parliament: for there are some men that more maliciously than ignorantly, will put no difference between Reformation, and alteration of Government.

Hence it commeth that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied. But I will enter into no more particulars, but shew you a way of remedy, by shewing you my clear intentions, and some Rocks that may hinder this good work.

I shall willingly and cheerfully concur with you for the reformation of all innovations both in Church and Common-wealth; and consequently, that all Courts of justice may be reformed according to Law. For my intention is clearly to reduce all things to the best and purest times as they were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Moreover, whatsoever part of my Revenue shall be found illegall or heavy to my Subjects I shall be willing to lay down, trusting in their affections. Having thus clearly and shortly set down my intentions, I will shew you some rubs, and must needs take notice of some very strange (I know not what term to give them) Petitions given in the names of divers Counties, against the established government of the Church, and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, that they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least, their voices to be taken away.

If some of them have incroached too much upon the Temporality (if it be so) I shall not be unwilling these things should be redressed and reformed, as all other abuses according to the wisdom of former times; so far I shall go with you, no farther.

If upon serious debate you shall shew that Bishops have some Temporal Authority, not so necessary for the government of the Church, and upholding Episcopall jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; but this must not be understood, that I shall any way consent that their Voices in Parliament should be taken away: for, in all the times of my Predecessors since the Conquest, and before, they have enjoyed it, I am bound to maintaine them in it, as one of the fundamentall constitutions of this Kingdom.

There is another Rock you are on, not in substance, but in form; and the form is so essentiall, that unlesse it be reformed, it will split you on that Rock.

There is a Bill lately put in concerning Parliaments. The thing I like well to have frequent Parliaments, but for the Sheriffs and Constables to use my Authority, I can no wayes consent unto.

But to shew that I desire to give you content in substance as well as in shew, you shall have a Bill for doing thereof, so that it do not trench neither against my honour, neither against the antient Prerogatives of the Crown concerning Parliaments. For I ingenuously confesse, often Parliaments is the fittest means to keep correspondency between me and my people, that I do so much desire.

To conclude, now all that I have shewen you, the state of my affairs, my own clear intentions, and the Rocks I would have you shun.

To give you all contentment, you shall likewise find it by these Ministers, I have or shall have about me, for the effecting of these my good intentions, which shall redouble the peace of the Kingdom, and content you all. Concerning the conference, you shall have a direct answer on Monday, which shall give you satisfaction.

His

His Majesties Speech to both Houses, in Answer to
a Remonstrance, about Papists, &c. February 3.

1640.

HAVING taken into serious consideration the late Remonstrance made unto me by the house of Parliament, I give you this Answer.

That I take in good part your care of the true Religion established in this Kingdom, from which I will never depart; as also your tenderesse of my safety, and the security of this State and Government. It is against my mind, that Popery or Superstition should any way increase within this Kingdom I will restraints the same by causing the Lawes to be put in execution.

I am resolved to provide against the Iesuits and Papists, by setting forth a Proclamation with all speed, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one moneth; of which if they faile, or shall return, then they shall be proceeded against according to the Lawes.

Concerning *Resettie*, I give you to understand, that the Queen hath alwayes assured me, that to her knowledge he hath no Commission, but only to retaine a personall correspondence between her and the Pope, in things requisite for the exercise of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of Marriage, which gave her a full liberty of Conscience: Yet I have perswaded her, that since the misunderstanding of that persons condition gives offence, she will within a convenient time remove him.

Moreover, I will take a special care to restrain my Subjects from resorting to Mass at *Denmark* house, *St. James's*, and the Chapels of Ambassadors.

Lastly, concerning *John Goodman* the Priest, I will let you know the reason why I reprieved him, that as I am informed, neither Queen *Elizabeth*, nor my Father

did ever avow, that any Priest in their times was executed meerly for Religion, which to me seems to be this particular case : yet seeing that I am pressed by both Houses, to give way to this , because I will avoid the inconveniency of giving so great discontent to my people, as I conceive this mercy may produce , therefore I do remit this particular case to both the Houses : But I desire them to take into their considerations, the inconveniencies (as I conceive) that may upon this occasion fall upon my Subjects , and other Protestants abroad; especially since it may seem to other States to be a severity; which having thus represented, I think my self discharged from all ill consequences that may ensue upon the execution of this person.

His Majesties Speech at the Passing of the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments. Feb. 16. 1640.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons, you may remember when both Houses were with me at the Banqueting house at *White hall*, I did declare unto you two Rocks I wished you to eschew , this is the one of them , and of that consequence , that I think never Bill passed here in this house of more favour to the Subjects than this is ; and if the other Rock be as happily passed over as this shall be at this time , I do not know what you can aske , for ought I can see , at this time, that I can make any question to yeeld unto: Therefore I mention this to shew unto you the sense that I have of this Bill, and the Obligation , as I may say , that you have to me for it ; for hitherto, to speak freely , I had no great encouragement to do it ; if I should look to the outward face of your actions or proceedings , and not look to the inward intentions of your hearts,

hearts, I might make question of doing it,

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your selves to amend, and not in those things that neerly concerne the strength of this Kingdom, neither for the State, nor my own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to shew you the state of things as they are, you have taken the government all in pieces, and I may say, it is almost off the hinges.

A skilfull Watchmaker to make clean his Watch will take it a sunder, and when it is put together, it will go the better, so that he leave forth then not one pin in it.

Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on your parts, and I hope you shall see cleerly that I have performed really what I expressed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great trust I have of your affections to me, and this is the great expression of trust, that before you do any thing for me, that I do put such a confidence in you.

His Majesties Speech to the Lords and Commons in the Banqueting-house at White-hall, about disbanding the Armies in Ireland and England, &c. Aprill 28. 1641.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, for answer to your desires, I say,

First, concerning the removall of Papists from Court, I am sure you all know what legall trust the Crowne hath in this particular: and therefore I need not say any thing to give you assurance that I shall use it so, that there shall be no iust cause of scandall.

Secondly, For disarming of Papists, I am very well content it shall be done according to Law.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, For the Irish Army, you must understand, I am already upon consultation how to disband it, but I find many difficulties in it: therefore I hold it not only fit to wish it, but to shew the way how it may be conveniently done.

This is not all I desire; but since you have mentioned the disbanding of Armies, it is my duty to my Country to wish for disbanding of all Armies; and to restore the same peace to all my three Kingdoms that the King my Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will answer the same to God, and to your Country, to joyne with me heartily and speedily for the disbanding of the two Armies in *England*. This is a very good time to speak of it, and there are but two wayes to do it.

One is, to answer their Petitions, and the second is, to provide monyes. You are Masters of the one, and with Me you are judges of the other. And you shall not be readier, nor so ready, to bring this to a happy conclusion, as I My self shall be.

His Majesties Speech in the Lords House, before he passed the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, May 1. 1641.

My Lords,

I Had no intention to speak of this businesse this day, which is the great businesse concerning my Lord of *Strafford*, because I would do nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions. But now it comes so to passe, that seeing of necessity I must have part in that Judgment, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you all know, I have been present at the hearing of this businesse from the one end to the other.
And

And I must tell you, that in my conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this businesse, I am sure you will not expect that, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince.

Yet I must tell you three truthes, which I am sure no body can tell so well as My self.

1. That I never had any intention of bringing over the Irish Army, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.

2. There never was any debate before me, either in publique Councill, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.

3. That I never was counselled by any, to alter the least of any of the Lawes of *England*, much lesse to alter all the Lawes. Nay, I tell you this, I thinke no body durst ever be so impudent, as to move me to it: For if they had I should have made them such an example, and put such a marke upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.

I desire rightly to be understood: for though I tell you in my conscience, I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours. Therefore I hope that you may find out a way to satisfie justice, and your own fears, and not to presse my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conscience is: and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie the people, I would do great matters, but in this of Conscience, neither fear, nor any other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the passing of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. June 22.

1641

I Do very willingly accept your offer made at this time as a testimony of your love, and beginning of your dutifull affections to me : and I no way doubt, but that you will perform that which you have intimated unto me, and that in due time you will perform the rest, when you have leisure.

I do not doubt likewise, but that in passing this Bill you will see a testimony of the trust and confidence I have in your affections; as also that I omit no occasion whereby I may shew that affection to my people, that I desire my people would shew to me, as in this Parliament hitherto, no body can say but that I have sought occasions both to shew my affections unto them, and to remove disputes.

And therefore in this particular Bill, I hope you will know that I do freely and frankly give over the right which my Predecessours have ever challenged unto them (though I confesse disputed, but yet they did never yeeld in their times;) therefore you will understand this but a marke of my confidence to put my selfe wholly upon the Love and affection of my people for my subsistence : And therefore I hope that in prosecution of this, you will go on as you have said; and that though you have rumours of jealousies and suspitions, by flying and idle discourses, that have come to my ears, concerning the extraordinary way, I confess I never understood it otherwise than as having relation to the Scottish Army, and preventing insurrection, which vanished as soon as they were borne.

And therefore now you see my clearnesse, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other,

other, for I never had other designe, but to win the affections of my people by my justice in my Government.

*His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the passing of the
Bills for the taking away the High-Commission and
Star Chamber, and regulating the Councell
Table. July 5. 1641.*

I Come to do the Office which I forbore to do on Saturday last, to give determination to these two Bills: But before I do it, I must tell you, that I cannot but be very sensible of those reports of discontent that I hear some have taken for not giving my consent on Saturday. Me thinks it seems strange, that any one should thinke, I could passe two Bills of that importance as these were, without taking some fit time to consider of them; for it is no lesse than to alter, in a great measure, those Fundamentall Lawes, Ecclesiasticall and Civill, which many of my Predecessors have established.

If you consider what I have done this Parliament, discontent will not sit in your hearts, for I hope you remember, that I have granted, That the Iudges hereafter shall hold their places, *quam diu se bene gesserint*, I have bounded the Forrests, not according to my right, but according to late Customes.

I have established the property of the Subjects, witnesse the free giving, not taking away the Shipmony.

I have established by Act of Parliament, the property of the Subject in Tonnage and Poundage, which never was done in any my Predecessours times: I have granted a Law for Trienniall Parliaments, and given way to an Act for the securing of monies advanced for the

the disbanding of the Armies; I have given free course of justice against Delinquents; I have put the Law in execution against Papists.

Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of me, and therefore me thinks you should not wonder, if in some things I begin to refuse. But I hope it shall not hinder your progresse in your great affairs, and I will not stick upon triviall matters, to give you content; I hope you are sensible of these beneficiall favours bestowed on you at this time.

To conclude. You know that by your consent, there is a prefixed time set for my going into *Scotland*, and there is an absolute necessity for it, I do not know but that things may so fall out, that it may be shortned; therefore I hope you will hasten the dispatching of those great busineses that are now necessarily to be done, and leave triviall and superficiall matters to an other meeting.

For my part I shall omit nothing that may give you just contentment, and study nothing more than your happiness, and thereof I hope you shall see a very good Testimony by passing these two Bills.

Le Roy le veult.

This being done, his Majesty said, as followeth.

I have one word more to speak unto you, and I take now an occasion to present it unto both Houses, that thereby I hope all the World shall see, that there is a good understanding between me and my people.

It is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who having desired me and the King of *Denmark* to give way to a writing concerning the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour, I could not but send my Ambassadour to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an answer as I expect, which my Nephew foreseeing hath desired me, for the better countenance of the same, to make a *Manifesto* in
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My name, which is a thing of great consequence; and if I should do it alone, without the advice of my Parliament, it would rather be a scorn, than otherwise: therefore I do propose it unto you, that if you will advise me to it, I think it were very fit to be published in my Name.

His Majesties Speech to the Scotch Parliament at Edinburgh, August 19. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THere hath nothing been so displeasing to me as those unlucky differences, which have happened between me and my people, and nothing that I have more desired, than to see this day wherein I hope not only to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know and to be known of my native Countrey. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through, and overcome, to be heare at this present: yet this will I say, if love to my native Country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a Commission which I am come to performe my self; and (this considered) I cannot doubt of such reall testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that Royall power which I enjoy after 108 discents, and which you have professed to maintaine, and to which your own nationall Oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think any pains ill bestowed. Now the end of my comming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withall to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out amongst you; and this I mind not superficially but fully and cheerfully to performe: For I assure you that I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people a generall Satisfaction

faction : wherefore not offering to endear my self unto you in words (which indeed is not my way) I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the Religion and just liberties of this my Native Country before I proceed to any other Act.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses, after his returne from Scotland. Decemb. 2. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Think it fit. after so long absence, at this first occasion, to speak a few words unto you, but it is no wayes in answer to Mr. Speakers learned speech: Albeit I have staid longer than I expected to have done when I went away, yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back againe, that the settling of my Scotch affairs could any wayes permit, in which I have had so good successe, that I will confidently affirm to yon, that I have left that Nation a most peaceable and contented people; so that although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end.

But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my returne, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found some businesses at my returne. For since that before my going I settled the Liberties of my subjects, and gave the Law a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my people reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietnesse, and satisfaction of mind; but instead of this, I find them disturbed with jealousies, Frights, and Alarms of dangerous designs and plots; in consequence of which, Guards have been set to defend both Houses. I say not this as in doubt that my Subjects affections are any way lessned to me in this time of my absence,

absence, for I cannot but remember, to my great comfort, the joyfull reception I had now at my entry into *London*, but rather as I hope that my presence will easily disperse these fears. For I bring as perfect and true affections to my people as ever Prince did, or as good subjects can possibly desire. And I am so far from repenting me of any Act I have done this Session for the good of my people, that I protest if it were to do againe I would do it; and will yet grant what else can be justly desired for satisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here established.

Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time, it is *Ireland*, for which though I doubt not your care, yet me thinks the preparations for it go but slowly on. The occasion is the fitter for me now to mention it, because of the arrivall of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come instructed from my Councell there (who now by Act of Parliament have full power for that purpose) to answer that Demand which it pleased both Houses to make of me by way of Petition, that met me at *Barmick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* sent back by my command to my Scotch Councell: therefore my desire is, that both houses would appoint a select Committee, to end this businesse with these Noblemen. I must conclude in telling you, that I seek my peoples happinesse, for their flourishing is my greatest glory, and their affections my greatest strength.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses about Ireland, and the Bill for pressing Souldiers. Dec. 14. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THe last time that I was in this place, and the last thing that I recommended unto you, was the

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business of *Ireland*, whereby I was in good hope that I should not have needed againe to have put you in mind of that business; but still seeing the slow proceedings therein, and the dayly dispatches that I have out of *Ireland* of the lamentable estate of my Protestant Subjects there, I cannot but againe earnestly recommend the dispatch of that expedition unto you, for it is the chief business that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot (almost) be any business that I can have more care of. I might now take up some of your time in expressing my detestation of Rebellions in generall, and of this in particular: but knowing that Deeds and not Declarations must suppress this great insolency, I do here in a word offer you whatsoever my power, pains, or industry can contribute to this good and necessary worke of reducing the Irish Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

And that nothing may be omitted on my part, I must here take notice of the Bill for pressing of Souldiers, now depending among you my Lords, concerning which I here declare, That in case it come so to me, as it may not infringe or diminish my Prerogative, I will passe it: And further, seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholding to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may passe with a *salvo jure*, both for King and People, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear it. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this Bill passe not, but those that refuse so fair an offer.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all disputes, you go on cheerfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*.

*His Majesties Speech in the House of Commons, about
the five Members. Jan. 4. 1651.*

Gentlemen,

I Am sorry for this occasion of comming unto you : yesterday I sent a Sergeant at Arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of High Treason, whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in *England* shall be more carefull of your Privileges, to maintaine them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of Treason, no person hath a privilege, and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here; for I must tell you, Gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this house can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it: therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well, sithence I see all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they returne hither: But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and faire way, for I never meant any other.

And now sithence I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintaine it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them.

*His Majesties Speech at Guild-hall, about the five Members. Jan. 5. 1641.**Gentlemen,*

I Am come to demand such Prisoners as I have already attainted of High Treason, and do believe they are shrouded in the City, I hope no good man will keep them from me, their offences are Treason, and misdemeanours of an high nature, I desire, your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legall triall.

And whereas there are divers suspicions raised, that I am a favourer of the Popish Religion, I do professe in the name of a King, that I did and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall any way oppose the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdom, either Papist or Separatist, and not only so, but I will maintaine and defend that true Protestant Religion which my Father did professe, and I will still continue in, during life.

His Majesties Speech at Theobalds, at the delivery of the Petition for the Militia. March 1.

1641.

I Am so amased at this Message, that J know not what to Answer: You speak of Jealousies and Fears: Lay your hands to your hearts, and aske your selves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies: and if so, I assure you this Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the *Militia*, I thought so much of it before I sent that Answer, and am so much assured that the
Answer

Answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in Honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

For My Residence near you, I wish it might be so safe and honourable, that I had no cause to absent my Self from *White-Hall*; Ask your selves whether I have not?

For my Son, I shall take that care of him, which shall justifie Me to God as a Father, and to my Dominions as a King.

To conclude, I assure you upon my Honour, that I have no thought but of peace and justice to my people, which I shall by all faire meanes seeke to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodness and providence of God, for the preservation of My Self and Rights.

His Majesties Speech at Newmarket, to the Earle of Holland, Pembroke, and the rest of the Committee that presented the Declaration,

March 9. 1641.

I Am confident that you expect not I should give you a speedy Answer to this strange and unexpected Declaration: And I am sorry (in the distractions of this Kingdom) you should think this way of Address to be more convenient, than that proposed by my Message of the 20 of January last to both Houses.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, I will take time to answer particularly; and doubt not but I shall doe it to the satisfaction of all the World. God, in his good time, will, I hope, discover the secrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treasons, and then I shall stand right in the eyes of all my people. In the mean time, I must tell you,

That I rather expected a Vindication for the Imputation laid on me in Master *Pym's* Speech, than that any more generall Rumours and Discourses should get credit with you.

For my Fears and Doubts, I did not thinke they should have been thought so groundlesse or triviall, while so many Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons are looked upon, and so great Tumults are remembered, unpunished, uninquired into: I still confesse my Fears, and call God to witnesse, That they are greater for the true Protestant profession, my People, and Laws, than for my own Rights or Safety; though I must tell you, I conceive that none of these are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I violated your Laws, Have I denied to passe any one Bill for the ease and security of my Subjects? I doe not ask you what you have done for Me?

Have any of my people been transported with Fears and Apprehensions? I have offered as free and generall a Pardon, as your selves can devise. All this considered, There is a judgement from Heaven upon this Nation, if these Distractions continue.

God so deal with Me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the Observation, and Preservation of the Laws of this Land: And, I hope, God will blesse and assift those Laws for my preservation.

As for the Additional Declaration, you are to expect an Answer to it when you shall receive the Answer to the Declaration it self.

Some Passages that hapned the 9th of March, between the Kings Majesty, and the Committee of both Houses, when the Declaration was Delivered.

VWhen His Majesty heard that part of the Declaration which mentioned Master *Jermins* Transportation, his Majesty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading, and said, That's false. Which being afterwards toucht upon again, His Majesty then said, 'Tis a lye. And when he was informed, it related not to the Date, but the Execution of the Warrant, His Majesty said, it might have been better expressed then, and that it was a high thing to taxe a King with breach of promise. As for this Declaration, His Majesty said, I could not have beleev'd the Parliament would have sent Me such an one, if I had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. I am sorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it. For by that I doubt not to satisfie My people; though I am confident, the greater part is so already.

Ye speak of ill Counsels, but I am confident the Parliament hath had worse informations, than I have had Counsels. His Majesty asking what he had denied the Parliament, the E. of *Holland* instanced that of the *Militia*, his Majesty replyed, that was no Bill: the Earl of *Holland* then said, it was a necessary request at this time; and his Majesty also then said, he had not denied it.

What passed the next day when His Majesty delivered His Answer.

VWhich was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the rest of the Committee. And that being done,
C 4 His

His Lordship endeavored to perswade His Majesty to come near the Parliament. Whereunto His Majesty answered, I would you had given me cause, but I am sure this Declaration is not the way to it. And in all *Aristotles Rhetoricks* there is no such argument of Perswasion. The Earl of *Pembroke* thereupon telling him, that the Parliament had humbly besought His Majesty to come near them, as aforesaid, His Majesty replied, He had learnt by our Declaration that words were not sufficient. His Majesty being then againe moved by the Earl of *Pembroke* to expresse what he would have: said, He would whip a Boy in *Westminster Schoole* that could not tell that by his Answer. And further said, they were much mistaken, if they thought his Answer of that, a deniall. And being also asked by the said Earle of *Pembroke*, Whether the *Militia* might not be granted, as was desired by the Parliament, for a time: His Majesty answered, not for an houre; you have askt that of me in this, was never askt of a king, and with which I will not trust My Wife and Children.

His Majesty said the businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in, Foure hundred will never do that work. It must be put into the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I will pawn my head to end that worke. And though I am a Beggar myself, yet (speaking With a Strong asseveration) I can find money for that.

His Majesties speech to the Sheriffe, Ministers, Gentry, &c. of Yorkshire, when they presented their Petition. April 5. 1642.

Mr. Sheriffe, and Gentlemen,

I Believe you expect not a present and particular Answer to your Petition, because it is new to me: Only

Only in generall I must tell you, That I see by it, that I am not deceived in the Confidence I have in the affections of this County to my Person and State ; and I assure you that I will not deceive your confidence, which at this time you have declared in your Petition to have in me : and I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken grounds, as other Petitions have been to me since I came to this place : concerning which, let me observe unto you, that my Answers were to clear those mistakings; for I never did go about to punish or discourage them from Petitioning to Me in an humble way, though the subject did not agree with my sense ; Albeit within the memory of man, people have been discouraged and threatned to be punished for Petitions.

I observe that your Petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good ; which indeed I expected, as knowing that in some particulars you have great reason to do : and therefore that you may not fare the worse for you modesty, I will put you in mind of three particulars, which I conceive to be for the good of this Country.

The first is concerning your Trained Bands, to reduce them to a lesser number, for which, I confesse to stand ingaged by promise to you, which I had performed long since, if I had been put in mind of it : And now I tell you, shew Me but the way, and (when you shall think fit) I shall instantly reduce them to that number, which I promised you two yeares ago.

The second is, That which is owing to this County for Billet-money ; the truth is, that for the present I cannot repay it : Onely I will say this, That if all the water had gone to the right Miill, (upon my word) you had been long agoe satisfied in this particular. And so I leave to your discretions which way you will

will advise, and assist me to comply with the engagements to you in this point.

The third is, That for which I was petitioned as I came up the last year, both by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, and likewise by divers others of this County, as I went Southward; and that is concerning the Court of *Yorke*: And first let me tell you, that I know no legall dissolution of it, for hitherto formally, there is nothing come to me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away: therefore I may say, it is rather shaken in pieces than dissolved. Now my desire is in compliyanse to what I answered the last year, unto the severall Petitions delivered to me upon this Subject, that you would consult and agree among your selves in what manner you would have the Court established most to your own contentments, and the good of all these Northern parts, in such a legall way, as that it may not be justly excepted against, and I assure you in the word of an honest Man, that you shall not blame me, if you have not full satisfaction in it.

Within a day or two ye shall have a particular Answer to your Petition, which shall be such an one as I am confident will give you good satisfaction, and put you into such a way, as, I hope, may produce good effects to the good of all this Kingdom.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentry of Yorke-shire attending his Majesty at Yorke. May the twelfth,

1641.

Gentlemen,

I Have cause of adding, not altering, what I meant to say, when I gave out the Summons for this days appearance, I little thought of these Messengers, or of

of such a message as they brought, the which because it confirms me in what I intend to speak, and that I desire you should be truly informed of all passages between me and the Parliament, you shall hear read, First, my Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning *Hull*, the Answer of the Parliament to my two Messages concerning *Hull*, together with my Reply to the same, and my Message to both Houses, declaring the Reasons why I refused to passe the Bill concerning the *Militia*.

All which being read, His Majesty proceeded.

I will make no Paraphrases upon what ye have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer than a King, only this Observation, since Treason is countenanced so near me, it is time to look to my safety: I avow, it was part of my wonder, that men (whom I thought heretofore discreet, and moderate) should have undertaken this employment, and that since they came (I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed me upon pretence of the Parliaments command. My end in telling you this, is to warne you of them; for since these men have brought me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawfull a Command; I will not say what their intent of staying here is, only I bid you take heed, not knowing what doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the Parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief cause of my coming hither (tumults and disorders having made me leave the South) and not to make this a seat of War, as Malice would (but I hope in vain) make you believe: Now if disturbances come I know whom I have reason to suspect.

To be short, you see that my Magazine is going to be

be taken from me (being my own proper goods) directly against my will ; the *Militia* (against Law and my consent) is going to be put in execution ; And lastly, Sir *Iohn Hotlams* Treason is countenanced : All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend dangers. Therefore I have thought fit (upon these real grounds) to tell you , that I am resolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary jealousies ,) only to secure my person. In which I desire your concurrence and assistance , and that I may be able to protect you, the Lawes , and the true Protestant profession from any affront or injury that may be offered , which I mean to maintaine my self without charge to the Countrey , intending not longer to keep them on foot , than I shall be secured of my just apprehensions by having satisfaction in the particulars before mentioned.

His Majesties Speech to the Knights , Gentlemen , and Freeholders , of the County of Nottingham , at Newarke. July 4. 1642.

Gentlemen.

YOUR honest Resolutions and Affections to Me and your Countrey, for the defence of my Person and the Lawes of the Land , have been , and are so notable, that they have drawn me hither only to thank you : I go to other places to confirm and undeceive my Subjects , but am come hither only to thank and encourage you. You have made the best Iudgement of happinesse , by relying on that foundation , which the experience of so many hundred years hath given such proof of , The assurance and security of the Law : and assure your selves when Laws shall be altered by any other Authority , than that by

by which they were made ; your foundations are destroyed : and though it seems at first but to take away my power , it will quickly swallow all your interest : I aske nothing of you (though your demeanour gives me good evidence that you are not willing to deny) but to preserve your own affections to the Religion and Lawes established ; I will justifie and protect those affections , and will live and die with you in that quarrell.

His Majesties Speech to the Knights , Gentlemen , and Freeholders of the County of Lincoln ; at Lincoln.

July 15. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IF I could have suspected your affections , or have censured the duty of this County by some late Actions in it , I should not have taken this pains , to have given you a testimony of my affection to you , and to remove those Objections which being raised by a Malignant party , may , by their cunning and industry , get credit even with honest minds. The truth is , I come to you , to assure you of my purposes and resolutions , for the defence of what ever is and should be dear unto you , your Religion , your Liberty , your Common interest , and the Lawes of the Land : and to undeceive you of that opinion , which I hear hath misled many of you , that the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia* is warranted by my Consent and Authority. As I have already informed you , by my severall Declarations and Messages , that the same is against the known Law , and an invasion of my unquestionable Right , and of your Liberty and Property , so I do now declare unto you , that the same is imposed upon you against my Expresse Consent , and in contempt

contempt of my Regal Authority : and therefore who-
soever shall henceforth presume to Execute or Obey
the same , I shall proceed against them , as against such
who promote Rebellion , and actually leavy Warre a-
gainst me : and I doubt not , but you will sadly consi-
der , that if any Authority without and against my
Consent may lawfully impose such burthens upon
you , it may likewise take away all that you have from
you , and subject you to their lawlesse Arbitrary power
and Government : And how far they are like to exer-
cise that jurisdiction towards you , you may guesse
by the insolence of Sir *Iohn Hotham* at *Hull* , who
(being a Subject) not only presumes to keep his Sove-
raign , by force of Arms out of His Town , but
murthers his fellow Subjects , imprisons them , burns
their Houses , drowns their Land , takes them Captive ,
and commits such Outrages and Acts of Hostility , as
the most unequall and outrageous Enemies practice in
any Countrey ; that you may see how impossible it is
for your Liberties and Properties to be preserved ,
when your King is Oppressed , and his just Rights ta-
ken from him. Who hath brought these Calamities
upon your Neighbours at *Hull* , every Man sees , and
they only can bring the same upon you. I will not
believe you to be so insensible of the benefits you have
received from me , that I need put you in mind of the
Gracious Acts passed by me this Parliament on your
beh lfs : and if there be any thing wanting to the
making you the happiest Subjects in the World , I
am sure it is not my fault , that you have not that
too. Be not deceived with words and generall ex-
pressions ; it is not in your power to name one particu-
lar , which might make you happy , that I have re-
fused to Grant : Be not frightened with Apprehensions ,
that this Country is like to be the seat of a Warre ;
the seat of a Warre will be only where persons rise in
Rebellion

Rebellion against me; that will not, I hope, be here; and then you shall be sure of my protection. I will live and dye in your defence. And that you may be in a readinesse, and a posture to defend your selves, and me against any Invasion or Rebellion, I have Armed severall persons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation amongst you, & of your own Country, with a Commission of Array to that purpose. There is no honest end declared in that Ordinance, which is not provided for by this Commission, which being according to the old known Law, is fit for your obedience, and I doubt not but you will find it.

I a word, I assure you, upon the Faith and Honour of a Christian King, I will be allwaies as tender of any thing which may advance the true Protestant Religion, protect and preserve the Lawes of the Land, and defend the just privilege and freedom of Parliament, as of my Life, or my Crown: and when I fail in either of these, I will not look for your assistance; till then you are concerned not to see me suffer.

*His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders,
and Inhabitants of Leicester, at Leicester, July 20.*

1642.

Gentlemen,

Since I have found my presence so very acceptable amongst my good Subjects in these Northern parts, and that the Errors and Mistakes amongst them, have wholly proceeded from mis-information, and are removed with more satisfaction and ease to them than they were received; I hold it a piece of my duty, to take the utmost pains I can, fully to informe and undeceive my people; and rather to prevent Crimes, than to punish them: in this Errand

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I am come to you, amongst whom there hath not been the least misunderstanding, to shew you; that I do not suspect any malice in the place, or in the people, though persons of as ill dispositions have been busy in it, and amongst you, as in any County in *England*, and such who have taken as great pains to do mischief, and to bring Confusion, as good men should for peace and happiness: Though tis as true that very many worthier persons amongst you have appeared of contrary affections, which I shall alwaies acknowledge. I am come to you in a time too, when nothing could invite me to such a journey, but my affection to, and good esteem of you; having sent such Propositions, of Peace and accomodation to my two Houses of Parliament; that I hope to have no other use of your affections, but in your prayers; being sure they will submit to them with alacrity, if the unexcusable Enemies to the peace of the kingdom be not strong enough to prevaile: And then you will find your selves so much concerned (for I have required nothing that with more justice can be denied me (if it be truly weighed) than my Crown, or my Life may be taken from me) that I shall not need to ask your assistance: I know you will bring Horse, Men, Money, and Hearts worthy such a Cause. Your Religion, your Liberties, your Laws (which I will defend with my life, I mean the good known Laws of the Land, not Ordinances without my consent, which til within these twelvemonths was never heard of from the foundation of this Kingdom) will be the Quarrell: and in such a cause, the taking away my Towns, Ships, Arms, and Money from me, shall not dishearten Me: the concurrence and affection of my people with Gods blessing will supply and recover all.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen of Yorkeſhire,
August 4. 1642.

Gentlemen,

VHen I directed that ſummons ſhould be ſent out for your meeting here this day, my principall end was, That I might give you thanks for the great forwardneſſe and expreſſions you have made of your affections to me ſince I came into this Countrey, and to aſſure you, That as the whole Kingdome hath great reaſon to value you exceedingly for it, ſo I ſhall be very unſatisfied with my Self, till I have found ſome way to fix a mark of favour, and eſtimation upon this County, and this people, which may tell poſterity, how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the memory of it will grow up with my Sons too, in a juſt acknowledgement. This was the moſt I intended to ſay to you, but there is an unquiet ſpirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to diſturb and confound the publick peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I choſe this place for my ſafety, is ſo notorious, that all Men know it, who know any thing; with what ſtrange violence and indignities I have been purſued, ſince I came hither, needs no other Evidence, than Sir *John Hothams* behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that insolence, that he will not ſuffer his Treason to be longer confined within thoſe walls, but makes ſallies out of the Town upon his fellow Subjects, drowns their Land, burns and plunders their Houſes, murders, and with unheard of cruelty, torments their perſons; And this with ſo much delight, that he would not have the patience to wait what Answer ſhould be ſent to my juſt Demands, though in that reſpect I engaged my
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Self to forbear to use any force, and kept my word; but chose the night before that came, (as if he knew well what Answer I was to receive) to act those Outrages.

Yet see the sad effects of Fears and Jealousies, the miseries they have produced; No Man can tell you the least good they have brought forth, or the least evill they have prevented: What inconvenience and burthen my presence hath been here, what disturbance it hath brought upon the publick, or grievance upon any private person, your selves are best judges: And whatever scandall some men have pleased to cast upon the Cavaliers (which they intend should reach all my Retinew, and by degrees shall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident, there hath not been any eminent disorder or damage befallen any Man, by any person of my Train, or under my protection.

I am sure my directions have been very strict in that point, and if they had not been observed, I thinke I should have heard of it by neerer complaints, than from *London*; I pray God the same care may be taken there: I am sure it hath not been. And to give you the fullest testimony of my affection to you, and to the peace of this County, and to shew you that no provocation shall provoke me to make this place to be the seat of the War, I have for your sakes, passed over the considerations of Honour, and notwithstanding the reproaches every day laid on me, laid no siege to that place, that they may not have the least pretence of doing you mischief, but resolve by Gods help to recover *Hull* some other way, for that I will ever sit down under so bold and unexcusable a treason no honest man can imagine. But it seems other Men are not of my minde, but resolve to make a War at your own doors, whatsoever you do, or I suffer. To what purpose else is their new Generall armed with
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an authority, to kill and destroy all my good Subjects? their levies of Horse and Foot, some whereof are upon their march towards you, with Cannon mounted? and the sending so many new souldiers into *Hull*, when there is no approach made towards it, but to sally out, and to commit Rapine, and by degrees to pour out an Army upon you? In this I must ask your advice, what you would do for your selves, and what you would have me do for you: you see how I am stript of my Navy at Sea, which is imployed against me; of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed men to destroy me; my money and provisions of my House taken from me, and all my Subjects forbid and threatned if they come neer me, that I may by Famine or Solitarinesse be compelled to yeeld to the most dishonourable Propositions, and to put my Self and Children into the hands of a few Malignant persons, who have entred into a Combination to destroy Vs: And all this done under pretence of a trust reposed by the people. How far you are from committing any such trust, most of the persons trusted by you, and your own expressions of duty to me, hath manifested to all the World; and how farre the whole Kingdome is from avowing such a trust, hath already in a great measure, and I doubt not will more every day appeare, by the professions of every County: for I am wholly cast upon the affections of my people, and have no hope but in the blessing and assistance of God, the justnesse of my cause, and the love of my Subjects, to recover what is taken from me and them, for I may justly say, they are equall losers with me.

Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what course is to be taken for your own security from the excursions from *Hull*, and the violence which threatens you from thence: I will assist you any way you propose.

Next I desire you, out of the publick provision, or your private store, to furnish me with such a number of Arms (Musquets and Corslets) as you may conveniently spare, which I do promise to see fully repaid to you : These Arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the custody of my Lord Mayor of *York*, for my use principally for those parts, which by reason of their distance from *Hull* are least subject to the fear of violence from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me, shall be excused from their attendance and service at musters, till their Arms shall be restored, which may well be sooner than I can promise, or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what is necessary to be done for the preservation of Gods true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very being of this Kingdom of *England*; for 'tis too evident all these are at stake.

For the compleating my Sons Regiment for the guard of his Person under the command of my L. of *Cumberland*, I refer it wholly to your selves, who have expressed such forwardness in it.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation in the Head of His Army, between Stafford and Wellington, after the reading of His Orders. Septemb. 19. 1642.

Gentlemen,

YOU have heard these Orders read ; It is your part in your severall places to observe them exactly : The time cannot be long before We come to Action, therefore you have the more reason to be carefull : And I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who

who transgresse these instructions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land; you shall meet with no Enemies, but Traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being Loyall to Vs. That you may see what use I mean to make of your Valour, if it please God to blesse it with successe, I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation, which when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrell, in which I promise to live and dye with you.

His Majesties Protestation.

I Do promise in the presence of Almighty G O D, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain *The true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of England*; And by the Grace of God in the same will live and dye.

I desire to govern by the *known Laws of the Land*, and that *the Liberty and Property of the Subject* may be by them preserved with the same care as my own just Rights. And if it please God; by his blessing upon this Army raised for my necessary Defence; to preserve me from this Rebellion, I doe solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God, to maintaine *the just privileges and freedom of Parliament*, and to govern by *the known Laws of the Land* to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably *the Laws consented to by Me this Parliament*. In the

mean while, if this time of War, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of *the peace of this Kingdom.*

When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven: But in this resolution I hope for the cheerfull assistance of all good men, and am confident of G O D S blessing.

His Majesties Speech to the Inhabitants of Denbigh and Flint, at Wrexham, Sept. 27. 1642.

Gentlemen,

I Am willing to take all occasions to visit all my good Subjects, in which number I have cause to reckon you of these two Counties, and having lately had a good expression of your loyalty and affections to me, by those Levies which at your charge have been sent me from your parts (which forwardnesse of yours, I shall alwayes remember to your advantage) and to let you know how I have been dealt with by a powerfull Malignant party in this Kingdome, whose designs are no lesse than to destroy my Person and Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the present Government both of Church and State. The Leaders of these men by their subtilty and cunning practises have so prevailed upon the meaner sort of people about *London*, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous Tumults, and thereby have chased from thence my Self, and the greatest part of the Members of both Houses of Parliament; their power and secret plots have had such influence upon the
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small remaining part of both Houses, that under colour of Orders and Ordinances made without the Royal assent (a thing never heard of before this Parliament) I am rob'd and spoiled of my Towns, Forts; Castles, and Goods ; my Navy forcibly taken from me, and imployed against me ; all my Revenues, stopt and seized upon, and at this time a powerfull Army is marching against me. I wish this were all ; They have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of my good people, they have most injuriously vented many false reproaches against my Person and Government, they have dispersed in print many notorious false scandals upon my actions and intentions, and in particular have laboured to cast upon me some aspersions concerning the horrid, bloody, and impious Rebellion in *Ireland*. They tell the people that I have recalled two Ships appointed for the guard of these Seas; 'tis true : but they conceal, that at the same time I sent my Warrants to the *Downs*, commanding four as good Ships to attend that service in stead of those should be recalled, which Warrant by their means could not finde obedience. They forget that they then imployed forty ships (many of them my own, and all of them set forth at the publicke charge of this and that Kingdom,) to rob and pillage me of my goods, to chase my good Subjects, and maintain my own Town of *Hull* against me. And that by the absence of those ships from the *Irish* Seas, the Rebels have had opportunity to bring store of Arms, Ammunition, and supplies to their succours (to which we may justly impute the calamities, which have overwhelmed my poor Protestant Subjects there.) They cry out upon a few suits of clothes appointed (as they say) for *Ireland*, which some of my Forces took, but conceal that they were taken as entering into *Coventry* (then in open rebellion against me)

me) where I had reason to believe they would have been disposed of amongst their Souldiers who then bore arms against me : they talk of a few horses which I have made use of for my Carriages (concealing that they were certified to be uselesse for the service of *Ireland*) when they themselves have seized 100000 pounds particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland* (where my Army is ready to perish for want of it) and imployed it (together with such part of the 400000 l. subsidy as they have received) to maintain an unnaturall Civil War at home. Neither have they used their fellow Subjects better than they have done me their King. By their power the Law of the Land (your birth-right) is trampled upon, and instead thereof they govern my people by Votes, and arbitrary Orders. Such as will not submit to their unjust unlimited power are imprisoned, plundered, and destroyed; such as will not pay such exactions as they require towards this rebellion are threatened to be put out of protection (as they call it) of the Parliament; such as conscienciously remember their duty and loyalty to Me their Sovereigne are reviled, persecuted, and declared Traytors; such as do desire to maintain the true Protestant Religion, as it is established by the Laws of the Land, are traduced, and called Popish and superstitious: And on the contrary, such as are known Brownists, Anabaptists, and publick depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, are countenanced and encouraged. They exact and receive Tonnage and Poundage, and other great duties upon Merchandizes, not onely without Law, but in the face of an Act of Parliament to the contrary past this present Parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a *Pramunire* that shall presume so to oppresse the people. If you desire to know who are the contrivers of these wicked designs, you shall finde some of their names

names in particular, and their actions at large in my Declaration of the 12 of August (to which I shall refer you) I wish their craft and power were not such ; that few of those copies can come to the view of my good people ; since that time these men so thirst after the destruction of this Kingdom, that they have prevailed to make all my offers of Treaty (which might bring peace to this Kingdom , & beget a good understanding between me and my Parliament) fruitlesse. In this distresse into which these men have brought me, & this Kingdom, my confidence is in the protection of Almighty God, & the affections of my good people ; & that you may clealy see what my resolutions are, I shall cause my voluntary Protestation lately taken to be read to you. And I desire that the Sheriffs of these two Counties will dispose copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick ; these men having restrained the use of my presses at *London*, and the *Vniversities*.

*His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders,
and other Inhabitants of the County of Salop,
at Shrewsbury, September 28.*

1642.

Gentlemen,

IT is some benefit to Me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithfull a part of my people ; I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hither, I will doe my part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place, and mine may
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carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robbed and spoyled of all my own, and such terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) I must onely live upon the aid and relief of my people; but be not affraid: I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the Insolence and Violence of that Army raised against me (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) than you shall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders: I will do my best, and this Ile promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint; I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Land to Sale or Mortgage, that, if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have summoned you hither, to invite you to doe that for me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men doe against Vs. Doe not suffer so good a cause to be lost for want of supplying me with that which will be taken from you, by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilest these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost Industry to destroy the Common-wealth, be you no lesse liberall to preserve it: Assure your selves if it please God to blesse me with successe, I shall remember the Assistance every particular man here gives me, to his Advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the mindes of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, that with some charge, and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdom.

I desire Master Sheriff, and the rest of the Gentlemen, to distribute themselves in that method, that they

they may best receive the expressions which you shall make of your affections, the which I will have particularly represented to Me.

*His Majesties Speech to the Clergy, Gentlemen,
Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County
of Oxon, at Oxford, Novemb.*

2. 1642.

Gentlemen.

THough you see my Army marching from hence, I do not intend to leave you, my Residence shall be so near, that my power shall have an influence upon this place (of which I will besides take a particular care) for your protection, therefore fear not to expresse your affections to Me with that courage which becomes you: I know how, and by whom this Countrey hath been awed, but I hope no man shall have more power to fright you from your Loyalty, than I have to restore you to it; and I shall guesse by the evidence of this day at your naturall dispositions. In assisting me, you defend your selves, for believe it, the Sword which is now drawn against Me, will destroy you, if I defend you not. I have; and will venture my life for you, 'twill be a shame for you to venture nothing. Whatsoever you shall be willing freely to contribute, I will take kindly of you; and whatsoever you shall lend me, I will in the word of a King see justly repayed to you.

I appoint the Sheriffe to receive such money or Plate as you (Gentlemen) shall be willing to assist me with and to return their names to me: And you of the Clergy shall repair to Mr. Vice-Chancellour, who shall doe the like, and expect that you should advance this Service throughout the Countrey, and
return

return your Collections suddenly to me by the hand of the Sheriffe. And I assure you I shall take especial notice of such who shall be backward in this time of so visible necessity.

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at Oxford. January 22. 1643.

My Lords, and Gentlemen.

WHen I consider your publick Interests and Concernments in the happinesse and honour of this Nation, and your particular sufferings in this Rebellion, for your affection and Loyalty to me; I must look upon you as the most competent Considerers and Counsellours how to manage and improve the Condition We are all in; for sure our Condition is so equall, that the same violence hath oppressed Us all.

I have therefore called you together to be witnesses of my Actions, and privy to my Intentions; and certainly if I had the least thought, disagreeing with the happinesse and security of this Kingdom, I would not advise with such Counsellours, and I doubt not but your concurrence with Me will so far prevail over the hearts and understandings of this whole Kingdom, (who must look upon you as persons naturally and originally trusted by and for them) that it will be above the reach and malice of those who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the people, to discredit my most entire Actions, and sincere Promises; you will be the best witnesses for the one, and security for the other.

Very many of you can bear Me witnesse with what unwillingnesse I suffered My Self first to take up these defensive

defensive Arms; indeed with so great, that I was first almost in the power of those who in two set Battels, have sufficiently informed the World how tender they have been of the safety of my Person. I foresaw not onely the rage and oppression which would every day break out upon My Subjects, as the malice of these ill men increased, and their purposes were detected; but also the great inconveniences My best Subjects would suffer even by My own Army, raised and kept for their preservation and protection; for I was not so ill a Souldier, as not to foresee how impossible it was to keep a strict discipline, I being to struggle with so many defects and necessities: and I assure you the sense I have of their sufferings, who deserve well of Me, by My Forces, hath been a greater grief to Me than any thing for My own particular. My hope was, that either by successe on My part, or Repentance on theirs, God would have put a short end to this great storm. But guilt and despair have made these Men more wicked, than I imagine they at first intended to be: for instead of removing and reconciling these bloody Distractions, and restoring peace to this languishing Countrey, they have invited a Foreign power to invade this Kingdom, & that in your names, and challenge this Invasion from them as a debt to the Common-wealth. You (My Lords) have, like your selves (as good *Patriots*, expressed your dissent, and vindicated your selves from that imputation: and I doubt not but you (Gentlemen) will let your Countries know how far you are from desiring such assistance, and how absolute and peremptory a breach this raising of Arms of My *Scots* Subjects is of that pacification, which was so lately and solemnly made by you, and can intend nothing but a conquest of you and your Laws. I shall send you all the advertisements I have of that businesse which is threatened

ned from *Scotland*, and what is already acted from thence; and shall desire your speedy advice and assistance what is to be said or done, both with reference to this, and that Kingdom.

Our ends being the same, I am sure there will be no other difference in the way, than what upon debate and right understanding will be easily adjusted. Let our Religion (in which We are all most nearly concerned, and without care of which We must not looke for Gods blessing) be vindicated and preserved ; Let My Honour and Rights (which you finde to have an inseparable relation with your own interests) be vindicated and restored; Let your Liberties, Properties, Privileges, (without which I would not be your King) be secured and confirmed, and there is nothing you can advise Me to, I will not meet you in; and I doubt not but We shall together inform Posterity, how much our trust and confidence in each other, is a better expedient for the Peace and preservation of the Kingdome, than Fears and jealousies.

I shall keep you no longer from consulting together, than in telling you, that I have prepared fit places for your Meetings, to which I desire you to repair this night; assuring you, that I will be alwayes ready to receive any thing from you, admitting you to me, or coming to you My Self, whensoever you shall desire. And so God direct you the best way.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation, before His receiving the holy Eucharist, at Christ-Church in Oxford. 1643.

His MAJESTY being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Arch-Bishop of Armagh, used these publick Expressions, immediately

diately before His receiving the blessed Elements; He rose up from His knees, and beckning to the Arch-Bishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.

MY Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared My Soul to become a Worthy Receiver: And may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I doe intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*, without any connivence at Popery. I blesse God, that in the midst of these publick distractions, I have still liberty to Communicate; And may this Sacrament be My Damnation, if My Heart do not joyn with My Lips in this Protestation.

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses at Oxford. Feb. 7. 1643.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have hardly thus long forborn to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick safety since your coming together. And first, I thank you for your inclination to peace; to which as my willingness of complying shewed the constancy of My endeavours in the best way for the publick good, so the Rebels by their scornfully rejecting your Overtures (as they have done heretofore mine) have shewed their constancy in their way.

Next, I must thank every one of you for so cheerful applying your selves to the maintenance and Recruiting of my Army, which I hope God will so blesse, that

that thereby the^{se} Enemies of peace shall have their due reward. And truly (my Lords and Gentlemen) this alacrity of yours for providing for My Army, doth please me in no consideration so much, as that it is the best way for peace; for certainly this strange arrogancy of refusing to Treat with you can proceed from nothing but their contempt of Our Forces. But it is your present Honour, and will be more to Posterity, that God hath made you instruments to defend your Sovereign, and to preserve your Countrey; to see that Religion and Law to flourish which you have rescued from the violence of Rebellion; for which I hope in time to recompence every one of you: But if I shall not, here is One I hope will, in which he shall but perform my commands. For I have no greater sadness for those who are my ill Subjects, than I have joy and comfort in your affections and fidelities.

And so G O D prosper your proceedings.

His Majesties Speech to the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, at their Recess. Aprill 26.

1644.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am now brought to you by your selves, for I should not soon have parted with you, if you had not desired it, and I believe that the same zeal and affection to Me and your Countrey, which hath brought and staid you here, hath caused you to seek this Recess, that so by distributing your selves into your severall Countreys, We may all the better reap the fruits of Our Consultations; wherefore in Gods name dispose of your selves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you desire.

I think most (if not all) of you are engaged in my service, either in a Civill, or Martiall way ; to you that have charge in my Armies , I recommend the diligent attendance on your Commands , that so by your good example and discipline , you may suppress license and disorder, which will discredit, and may destroy the best cause.

And to you who are engaged in the Civill affairs , I must recommend these few particulars ; That you expedite those supplies of Monyes , which by your advice I have sent for, whether by Subscription or Excise, remembring that Monyes are the Nerves of War.

Likewise that you use your best diligence for the Pressing of men , and encouragement of Voluntiers ; by shewing them, that now the only way to preserve themselves from slavery , and their Country from ruine , is freely to engage their persons.

But chiefly , and with all possible care to enform all my Subjects of the barbarity and odiousnesse of this Rebellion, how sollicitous I have been for Peace, and how insolently & scornfully rejected, assuring them that my Arms are raised, and kept only for the defence of their Religion, Lawes , and Liberties , which being once secured and vindicated , I shall most cheerfully lay them down, I having (God knowes) with much unwillingnesse taken them up.

Lastly , assure them that these extraordinary wayes which necessity hath produced (and most of them not without your consent or advice) for my supply , shall not hereafter be brought in example to their prejudice , and I shall in the mean time do my best to prevent , and punish all exorbitances and disorders.

To conclude (My Lords and Gentlemen) I do now againe (yet never enough) thank you for your great,
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and unanimous expressions of your affections to me, which hath laid an unexpressable obligation upon me, and be assured that there is no profession which I have made for the defence and maintenance of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, which I will not inviolably observe.

Now God who hath blessed this meeting with an unexpected unanimity (which I esteem as one not of his least blessings) will I hope bring us all safe together againe the 8 day of *October* next, in the mean time I shall be ready to receive any thing from your Committees that shall be desired.

*His Majesties Speech, at the delivery of the Votes
for a Personall Treaty, at Carisbrook-Castle,
August 7. 1648.*

By an Eye and Ear-witnesse, who not trusting to his memory made use of his Pen. And for the truth of this Relation, the Relator appeals to the Commissioners themselves, or to any there present, who had the happiness with him, to hear the most pious, most Christian expressions, of a most Religious King.

ON Monday, August 7. 1648. the Commissioners having admittance into the Kings presence, the Votes were first read, and then presented to the King by the Earle of *Middlesex*, who desired his Majesties speedy Answer, Telling Him, that their returne was limited to ten dayes: The King then askt, *Whether the ten dayes were not to be counted from that of the delivery of the Message?* My Lord of *Middlesex* answered, No, Sir, they are to be counted from the day of our setting forth. The King replied, *I have not then five dayes allowed Me to consider of My Answer, which I presume*

presume you expect in Writing; and I have none to help Me, no not so much as a Clerk to transcribe; however I will really contribute My best endeavours to a happy peace. — After a short pause, the King said, I would have sent to the Parliament, but I desire them to take notice, that My long silence proceeds not from a dull stupid laziness; or My being insensible of My own or the Kingdoms condition; but from the incapacity that lay on Me by reason of former Votes: but now a way is opened to a Treaty, which I ever apprehended, as the only means to a durable Peace, I shall cheerfully embrace it, and none shall more speedily run to it, than my self: And for My part, as being more concerned than any one in the Kingdom; nay should I say more than all, I speak it without vanity, I hope it will be thought no Hyperbolicall expression, for I am assured, whosoever gains, I shall be a loser. —

His Majesty then read the Votes to himself, and having read them, said, I like them well, My desires being included in these Votes: for what can I desire more, than to Treat with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, upon the Propositions, and such other things as either I or the two Houses shall offer? — His Majesty then asked, whether the Commissioners to Treat were yet nominated? My Lord of Middlesex answered, No, Sir. Then the King said, In a Treaty two sorts of things are considerable; some Necessary, others Convenient: — Then the King said to them, I will go and apply My selfe to My Answer, that I may not delay a minute to promote so good a work: And then withdrew, and for that time dismissed the Commissioners.

On Thursday, August 10. The Commissioners waited on His Majesty to receive His Answer; and upon their entrance into the presence, the King said, He was sorry He was limited to so short a time, and had so little helps for dispatch; yet notwithstanding He had prepared His Answer: and immediately before the reading thereof;

used these words, *That the last Message He sent to the Houses, was delivered to the Commissioners Sealed: And had it been so presented, it would have been better for Him; but now he thought it fit to send this open, because he could not be in a worse Condition, being under so close a Restraint, none being suffered to speak a word to him, with out suspicion.*—He then produced his Answer, and read it aloud in the presence Chamber, being full of Company, and after he had read it, his Majesty said, *That He hoped He had therein indeavoured to give satisfaction to His Parliament; There being nothing in it but what he conceived is implied in their Votes.* And further added, *That there might be some that would oppose this Treaty, as being gainers by these Wars, and therefore desired the continuance of it. Others might think him revengefull, but he said he was so far from seeking revenge, That if a Straw lay in the way to hurt them, he would stoop and take it up to prevent it: And said, God forgive them, for I do.* Then the Commissioners coming to take their leaves of Him, He called them to Him, and asked them, *how they liked his Answer?* They told Him, *they thought and hoped, it would produce a sudden and happy well-grounded peace.*

His Majesties Speech to the Commissioners at the close of the Treaty at Newport, November 4. 1648.

At the close of the Treaty the King made a short Speech to this purpose.

THat his Majesty hoped the Commissioners were now sensible, that none was more desirous of a good and lasting peace than himselfe; that he had gone very farre to give His two Houses satisfaction; that He thought, though the time for the Treaty was ended,

yet the Treaty it self was not; that He expected to hear from his two Houses about His own Propositions, and would be ready to make His Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Lawes. He desired that the Commissioners would put a good interpretation upon His vehement expressions in some of His Debates, there being nothing in His intentions but kindnesse; and that as they had taken abundance of freedom, and shewed great abilities in their Debates, which have taken His Majesty off from some of his own opinions, so His Majesty doubted not (had they had power to recede) some of His reasons would have prevailed with them, as He is confident, had it been with His two Houses it would have don with them; And therefore beseeches them to take the same freedom with His two Houses, to press them to a compliance with Him in those things His Conscience is not satisfied in, which more time may do; His Opinion not being like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable, or infallible. Adding his Majesties very hearty thanks for the pains they have taken to satisfie him, professing that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities, desired them candidly to represent al the transactions of this Treaty to his two Houses, that they might see nothing of his Interest, how near or dear soever (but that wherein his Conscience is unsatisfied) can hinder on his part a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And then he and the Commissioners took leave; & that night after supper they came & kissed his hand, and received a great deal of respect from his Majesty.

His Majesties Farewell Speech unto the Lords Commissioners at Newport in the Isle of Wight. Novemb. 1648.

MY Lords, you are come to take your leave of me, and I believe we shall scarce ever see each other againe

gain: But Gods will be done, I thank God, I have made my peace with him, and shall without tear undergo what he shall be pleased to suffer Men to do unto Me.

My Lords, you cannot but know, that in My fall and ruine, you see your own, and that also neer to you; I pray God send you better friends than I have found.

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the plot against Me and mine, and nothing so much afflicts Me, as the sense and feeling I have of the sufferings of My Subjects, and the miseries that hang over My three Kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their own interests and ends.

These words His Majesty delivered with much alacrity, and cherfullnesse, with a serene countenance, and carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus He parted with the Lords, leaving many tender impressions, (if not in them, yet) in the other hearers.



Fourty severall Messages for Peace, Sent by His Majesty to the two Houses of Parliament, before and since the breaking out of this War (whereof only 21 were formerly Printed together, and the rest which were then omitted, are now added.)

By all which may evidently appear, His Majesties consent and earnest endeavours for peace, both before and after His imprisonment: And His many and gracious Concessions offered for the obtaining of the same.

With two Declarations written by His Majesty, the one

His Majesties Messages for Peace. 55

one at *Carisbrook-Castle*, Jan. 14. 1647. after the Votes of *No addressees*. The other at *Newport*, November 22. 1648. When his Majesty was violently seized upon by the Army, after the Treaty was ended.

I. His Majesties Message of the 20 of Jan. 1641. for composing of all differences.

HIS Majesty perceiving the manifold distractions which are now in this Kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconveniencies, and mischief to this whole Government, in which, as His Majesty is most chiefly interessed, so He holds himselfe by many reasons, most obliged to do what in Him lies, for the preventing thereof; though He might justly expect (as most proper for the duty of Subjects) that Propositions for the remedies of these evils, ought rather to come to Him than from Him; yet His fatherly care of all His people being such, that He will rather lay by any particular respect of His own dignity, than that any time should be lost for prevention of these threatening Evills, which cannot admit the delays of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament; doth think fit to make this ensuing proposition to both Houses of Parliament, That they will with all speed fall into a serious consideration of all those particulars, which they shall hold necessary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of his Majesties just and regal Authority, and for the settling of His Revenue, As for the present and future establishment of their privileges, the free and quiet enjoying of their estates and fortunes, the Liberties of their persons, the security of the true Religion now professed in the *Church of England*, and the settling of Ceremonies in
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such a manner as may take away all just offences: Which when they shall have digested and composed into one entire body, that so His Majesty and themselves may be able to make the more clear judgment of them, it shall then appear by what His Majesty shall do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too great Fears and Jealousies of some persons seem to apprehend: And how ready he will be to equall and exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their people. So that if all the present distractions (which so apparently threaten the ruine of this Kingdom) do not (by the blessing of Almighty God) end in an happy and blessed accommodation; His Majesty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witnesse, that it hath not failed on His part.

2. *His Majesties Message of the 15 of March, 1641. from Huntingdon, upon His removall to York, in pursuance of the former.*

HIS Majesty being now in His remove to His City of York, where He intends to make His residence for some time, thinks fit to send this Message to both Houses of Parliament.

That He doth very earnestly desire that they will use all possible industry in expediting the businesse of *Ireland*, in which they shall find so cheerfull a concurrence by his Majesty, that no inconvenience shall happen to that service by His absence, He having all that passion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which He hath expressed in His former Messages, and being unable by words to manifest more affection to it, than he hath endeavoured to do by those Messages (having likewise done all
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such Acts as He hath been moved unto by His Parliament) Therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of His poor Protestant Subjects there shal grow upon them (though His Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings) He shall wash His hands before all the World , from the least imputation of slacknesse in that most necessary & pious work.

And that His Majesty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good understanding between Him and His Parliament, He thinks it necessary to declare, That as he hath been so tender of the privileges of Parliament, that He hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of His own , which He hath been informed hath trencht upon their privileges , so He expects an equall tendernes in them of His Majesties known and unquestionable privileges (which are the privileges of the Kingdom) amongst which He is assured it is a fundamentall one, That His subjects cannot be obliged to obey an Act, Order , or Injunction to which His Majesty hath not given His consent : And therefore He thinks it necessary to publish , That He expects , and hereby requires Obedience from all his loving Subjects , to the Lawes established , and that they presume not upon any pretence of Order, or Ordinance (to which His Majesty is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing to do or execute what is no warranted by those Lawes His Majesty being resolved to keep the Laws himself , and to require obedience to them from all his Subjects.

And His Majesty once more recommends to His Parliament the substance of His Message of the twentieth of *January* last , that they compose and digest with all speed such Acts , as they shall think fit , for the present and future establishment of their privileges , the free and quiet enjoying their Estates and Fortunes ; the liberties of their persons ; the security of the true Religion

on, now professed in the Church of England; The maintaining His Majesties regall and just Authority, and settling His Revenue; His majesty being most desirous to take all fitting and just wayes which may beget a happy understanding between Him and His Parliament, in which He conceives His greatest power and riches do consist.

3. *His Majesties Message from Nottingham, when He set up his Standard, the twenty fifth of August.*

1642.

By the Earls of Southampton, and Dorset, Sir John Culpeper, Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, and Sir W. Vvedale, Knight.

WE have with unspeakable grieve of heart long beheld the distractions of this our Kingdom; Our very soule is full of anguish untill We may finde some remedy to prevent the miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a civill Warre: and though all our endeavours tending to the composing of those unhappy differences betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Vs with all zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that successe We hoped for; Yet such is Our constant and earnest care to preserve the publique peace, that We shall not be discouraged from using any Expedient, which by the blessing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happinesse to all Our good Subjects: To this end observing that many mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers betwixt Vs and our two Houses of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, That some fit persons may be by you enabled

abled to treat with the like number to be authorised by Vs, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion, which all good men desire, *The peace of the Kingdom*: Wherein as We promise in the word of a King all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Vs, if you shall choose the place where We are for the Treaty, which We wholly leave to you, presuming on the like care of the safety of those We shall employ, if you shall name an other place; So We assure you and all Our good Subjects, That (to the best of Our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on Our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built aswell our just Prerogative, as the Property and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all just power and privileges of Parliament, and render Vs and Our people truly happy by a good understanding betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all Our people joyn with Vs in Our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this Work.

If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty so amply, that God will absolve Vs from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of Our power, We assure you nothing but Our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of Blood hath begat this motion, Our provision of Men, Arms, and Money being such as may secure Vs from further violence, till it please God to open the eyes of Our people.

4. *His Majesties Message of Sept. 5. 1642. in pursuance of the former.*

VVE will not repeat what means We have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the Kingdom; nor how these means have been interpreted, because being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness that might make Our offer of a Treaty lesse readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up Our Standard against them, and much lesse to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection; We utterly professe against it before God and the World. And further to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by Vs, We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons as Traytors or other wayes, for assisting Vs, We shall with all cheerfullnesse upon the same day recall Our Proclamations and Declaratians, and take down Our Standard: In which Treaty We shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of our subjects, Conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these Our offers We have declared Our Self to do: And assuring you that Our cheef desire in this World is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament.

5. *His Majesties Message and Reply to the Answer of both Houses, to His former Message.*

September 11. 1642.

W^Ho have taken most wayes, used most endeavours, and made most reall expressions to prevent the present Distractions and Dangers, let all the World judge, as well by former passages as Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitlesse, That (though We have descended to desire and press it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unlesse We would denude Our Self of all force to defend Vs from a visible strength marching against Vs, and admit those persons accounted as Traytors to Vs, who according to their Duty, their Oathes of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Vs their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though We disclaimed all Our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard as against Our Parliament. All We have now left in Our power is, to expresse the deep sense We have of the publick misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of Our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*, and to apply Our Self to Our Necessary Defence, wherein We wholly relye upon the providence of God, the justice of our Cause, and the affection of Our good People, so far We are from putting them out of Our protection. When you shall desire a Treaty of Vs, We shall piously remember, whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrell, and cheerfully embrace it. And as no other Reason induced Vs to leave Our City of *London*, but that with Honour and Safety We could not stay there; nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of Our Person and the Law, against Leavies in opposition

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tion to both ; so We shall suddenly and most willingly returne to the one , and disband the other , as soon as those causes shall be removed. The God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgments which hang over this Nation, and so deal with Vs and Our Posterity, as We desire the preservation and advancement of the true Protestant Religion ; and the Law and Liberty of the Subject , The just rights of Parliament , and the Peace of the Kingdom.

6. *His Majesties Message of November 12.
1642. from Brainford: After the defeat of
the Parliaments forces at Edge-hill, and
at Brainford.*

VV Hereas the last night , being the eleventh of *November* , after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houses , with Our gracious Answer to their Petition , We received certaine information , (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the Houses Committee or otherwise) that the L. of *Essex* had drawn his forces out of *London* towards Vs, which hath necessitated Our sudden resolution to march with Our forces to *Brainford* ; We have thought hereby fit to signifie to both Our Houses of Parliament , That We are no lesse desirous of the Peace of the Kingdom , than we exprest in Our aforesaid Answer ; The Propositions for which , We shall willingly receive where ever We are , and desire (if it may be) to receive them at *Brainford* this night , or early to morrow morning ; that all possible speed may be made in so good a worke , and all inconveniencies , otherwise likely to intervene , may be avoided.

And

And to justifie yet further, that Our intention was no other than was here profest, as soone as We were informed that the Earl of *Essex* his Forces were departed from *Kingstone*, before any appearance or notice of further forces from *London*; (Our end of not being inclosed being obtained) We gave orders to quit *Brainford*, and to march away, and possesse that place.

We cannot but make one Argument more of the truth of Our profession, that this was all Our end, and that We had not the least thought by so advancing to surprize and sack *London*, (which the Malignant party would infuse into that Our City) And that is, that probably God Almighty would not have given such a blessing to our journey, as to have assisted Vs so both by Land and Water, as with lesse than a third part of Our Foot, and with the losse but of ten men, to beat two of their best Regiments out of both *Brainfords*, for all the great advantage of their works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and to kill and drown many others, to take five hundred prisoners, more Arms, eleven Colours, and good store of Ammunition, fifteen peeces of Ordinance, (Whereof we sunk most that we brought not away) and then unfought with and unoffered at, nearer than by Ordinance, to march away, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Our forces by the difficulties of the passages, if He, who is the Searcher of all hearts, and Truth it selfe, had not known the truth of our professions, and the innocency of Our heart, and how far We were from deserving those horrid accusations of Falshood, and Treachery cast so point blank upon Our own person, that it would amaze any man to see them suffered to be printed in Our City of *London*, if any thing of that kind could

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could be a wonder, after so many of the same, and how really they desire accommodation, who upon this have Voted they will have none.

These our Reasons for this Action, This Our satisfaction sent for it, and this blessing of God upon it, will (We doubt not) clear Vs to all indifferent persons both of the Jesuiticall Counsels, and the personal Treachery, to which some have presumed so impudently to impute it; And God so bleesse Our future Actions, as We have delivered the truth of this.

7. *His Majesties Message concerning His Reply to the Answer of both Houses to His former Message.*

November 18. 1642.

To the Answer of both Houses of Parliament to His Majesties Message of the 12 of November, His Majesty makes this Reply.

That this Message of the twelfth, though not received by them till the fourteenth, was sent to them first upon the same day upon which it was dated, and meeting with stops by the way, was againe sent upon the thirteenth, and taken upon that day at ten in the morning by the Earl of *Essex*, & though not to him directed, was by him opened, so the slownesse of the delivery is not so strange as the stop of The Letter said to be sent by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, which His Majestie hath not yet received, but concludes from the matter expressed to have been contained in that Letter (to wit, to know his pleasure, whether He intended the forbearance of Hostility) and by the command of such forbearance said to be sent to the Lord of *Essex* his Army that no such forbearance was already concluded, and consequently neither had

His Majestie cause to suppose that He should take any of their forces unprovided and secure in expectation of a faire Treaty, neither could any Hostile Act of His Majesties forces have been a course unsuitable to His Expressions, much lesse could an endeavour to prepossesse (for so He hoped He might have done) that place which might have stopt the further march of those forces towards him (which, for ought appeared to him, might as well have been intended to *Colebrook* as to *Brainford*) and by that the further effusion of blood deserve that stile

His Majestie further conceives, That the printing so out of time of such a Declaration, as their Reply to His Answer to theirs of the six and twentieth of *May*, but the day before they voted the delivery of their Petition, and the march of the Earle of *Essex* his forces to *Brainford* so neare to his Majestie; when the Committee at the same time attended Him with a Petition for a Treaty, the Earle of *Essex* being before possesst of all the other Avenues to his Army, by his Forces at *Windsore*, *Alton*, and *Kingston*, was a more strange introduction to peace, than for His Majesty not to suffer himself to be coopt up on all sides, because a Treaty had been mentioned, which was so really and so much desired by his Majestie; that this proceeding seems to Him propofely to be by some intended to divert (which it could not doe) that His inclination.

That His Majesty had no intention to Master the City by so advancing, besides His profession, which (how meanly soever they seeme to value it) He conceives a sufficient Argument (especially being onely opposed by suspicions and surmises) may appear by His not pursuing His victory at *Brainford*, but giving Orders to his Army to march away to *Kingstone* as soone as He heard that place was quitted, before any

notice or appearance of further forces from *London*; Nor could he find a better way to satisfie them before hand, that He had no such intention; but that His desire of Peace, and of Propositions that might conduce to it, still continued, than by that Message of the twelfth, for which care of His He was requited by such a reception of His Message and Messenger, as was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and the very Customes, and Law of War, and Nations, and such as theirs (though after this provocation) hath not found from Him.

His Majesty wonders that His Souldiers should be charged with thirsting after blood, who took above five hundred prisoners in the very heat of the fight, His Majesty having since dismissed all the Common Souldiers, and entertained such as were willing to serve him, and required only from the rest an Oath not to serve against Him: And His Majesty supposes such most apt and likely to maintaine their power by blood and rapine, who have only got it by oppression and injustice; That His is vested in Him by the Law, and by that only (if the destructive Counsels of others would not hinder such a Peace, in which that might once againe be the Vniversall Rule, and in which Religion and Iustice can only flourish) He desires to maintain it. And if peace were equally desired by them, as it is by His Majesty, He conceives it would have been proper to have sent Him such a paper as should have contained just propositions of peace, and not an unjust accusation of His Counsels, proceedings, and person. And His Majesty intends to march to such a distant from his City of *London*, as may take away all pretence of apprehension from His Army, that might hinder them in all security from yet preparing them to be sent to Him, and there will be ready either to receive them, or to end the pressures

pressures and miseries, which His Subjects to His great greif suffer through this War, by a present battell.

8. *His Majesties Message for a Treaty*, March 3. 1643
from Oxford.

C. R.

QUe of Our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdome, and Our unwearied desires to apply all Remedies; which by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruine; By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, We do propound and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons, may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons, whom We shall appoint and authorize to treat of the wayes and meanes to settle the present distractions of this Our Kingdom, and to procure a happy peace. And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things, as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just, and reasonable ease of tender consciences; to the settling and maintaining of Our just Rights, and privileges; of the Rights and privileges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and property of the Subject; and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting Peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Vs and

Our people, wherein no endeavours or Concurrence of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the wayes of peace. *Given at Our Court at Oxford the thirdday of March. 1643.*

*Superscribed,
To the Lords and Commons of
Parliament Assembled at
Westminster.*

2. His Majesties Message after the ending of the Treaty at Oxford, concerning the disbanding of all forces, and His returne to the Parliament.

Aprill 12. 1643. Oxford.

To shew to the whole World how earnestly His Majesty longs for peace, and that no successe shall make Him desire the continuance of His Army to any other end, or for any longer time than that, and untill things may be settled, as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, both Houses, and His good Subjects.

1. As soon as His Majestie is satisfied in His first Proposition concerning His owne Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, in which he desires nothing but that the Just, known, Legall Rights of His Majesty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the persons trusted by him; which hath been violently taken from both, be restored unto him, and unto them, unlesse any just and legall exceptions against any of the persons trusted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majestie) can be made appear to Him.

2. As soon as all the Members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and Voting

in Parliament, as they had upon the first of *January*, 1641. the same of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights, and the free Election of those that sent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to His Majesty in these distractions; His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whose places upon new Writs new Elections have been made.

3. As soon as His Majestie and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great breach of the privileges, and the high dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, and occasioned two severall complaints from the Lord's House, and two severall desires of that House to the House of Commons, to joyne in a Declaration against them, the complying with which desire, might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued; Which security His Majesty conceives can be onely settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from *London*, the choise of which His Majesty leaves to both Houses.

His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediately disbanded and give a present meeting to both His Houses of Parliament at the time and place, at and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majesty being most confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching and printing against His Majesty, and the established Lawes, which hath bin one of the cheif causes of the present distractions;

and such care will be taken concerning the legall and known Rights of His Majesty, and the property and liberty of His Subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done, in or by colour of any illegall Declaration, Ordinance or Order of one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise Armes without his Majesties consent, will be in such a manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out for the future, to disturbe the peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in such a convention His Majesty is resolved by His readinesse to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to Him by Bill for the reall good of His Subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants,) for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion, for the prevention of the practices of Papists against the State, and the due execution of the Lawes, and true levying of the penalties against them, to make known to all the world how 'causeless those Fears and Jealousies have been, which have been raised against Him, and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdom. And if this offer of His Majesty be not consented to, (in which He asks nothing for which there is not apparent justice on His side, and in which He defers many things highly concerning both Himself and People, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Justice Hee might now require) His Majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the World, not onely who is most desirous of Peace, and whose fault it is that both Armies are not now disbanded, but who have bin the true & first cause that this peace was ever interrupted, or these Armies raised; and the beginning or continuance

nuance of the War, and the destruction and desolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most interested, passionate, or prejudicate person, be imputed to His Majesty.

*His Majesties Message of the 19 of May, 1643.
in pursuance of the former. Oxford.*

Since His Majesties Message of the twelfth of *April*, (in which He conceived He had made such an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies, and composure of these present miserable distractions, by a full and free convention in Parliament, that a perfect and settled peace would have ensued) hath in all this time (above a full month) procured no Answer from both Houses, His Majestie might well believe Himselfe absolved before God and Man, from the least possible Charge of not having used His utmost endeavour for peace: yet when He considers that the Scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of His owne Kingdome, that all the blood which is spilt is of His owne Subjects, and that what victory soever it shall please God to give Him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against Him; When he considers that these desperate civil Diffentions may encourage and invite a forraign Enemy to make a prey of the whole Nation; That *Ireland* is in present danger to be totally lost; That the heavy judgements of God, Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnaturall Contention; And that in a short time, there will be so general a habit of uncharitablenesse and cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdome, that even peace it selfe will not restore His people to their old temper and security, His Majesty cannot but againe

call for an Answer to that his Message; which gives so fair a Rise, to end these unnaturall distractions. And His Majestie doth this with the more earnestnesse, because He doubts not the condition of His Armies in severall parts, His strength of Horse, Foot, and Artillery, His plenty of Ammunition (which some men lately might conceive He wanted) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed, that nothing but the tenderesse and love to his people, and those Christian impressions which alwaies have, and He hopes alwayes shall dwell in his heart, could move Him once more to hazard a refusall. And He requires them as they will answer to God, to Himself, and all the World, that they will no longer suffer their fellow subjects to welter in each others blood; That they will remember by whose authority, and to what end they met in that Councell, and send such an Answer to His Majesty as may open a door to let in a firm peace and security to the whole Kingdom. If His Majesty shall againe be disapointed of His intentions herein, the blood, rapine, and distraction, which must follow in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be cast upon the account of those who are deaf to the motion of peace and accomodation.

II. *His Majesties Message from Evesham, after the defeat of Waller at Cropredy-bridge,*

July 4. 1644.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

WE being deeply sensible of the miseries and calamities of this Our Kingdome, and of the grievous sufferings of Our poor subjects, do most ear-

earnestly desire that some expedient may be found out, which by the blessing of God may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to peace, from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given Vs on the contrary part shall make Vs cease, so no successe on Ours shall ever divert Vs. For the effecting whereof We are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of Vs and Our people, whether by way of confirmation of what We have already granted, or such further concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full assurance of the performance of all Our most reall professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just privileges of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land; as also by granting a generall pardon without or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed peace, we do desire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, That they appoint such, and so many persons as they shall think fit sufficiently authorized by them to attend Vs at Our Army, upon safe conduct to come and return (which We do hereby grant) and conclude with Vs, how the premises and all other things in question betwixt Vs and them, may be fully settled; whereby all unhappy mistakings betwixt Vs and Our People being removed, there may be a present Cessation of Arms, and as soone as may be, a totall disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be restored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on Our part, which may
make

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make Our people secure and happy.

*Given at Our Court at Evelham the fourth of
July 1644.*

12. *His Majesties Message from Tavestock for Accommodation, Septemb. 8. 1644. After the defeat of the Earl of Essex in Cornwall.*

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

IT having pleased GOD in so eminent a manner, lately to blesse Our Armies in these parts with successe, We do not so much joy in that blessing for any other consideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a meanes to make others lay to heart as We doe, the miseries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnaturall War, and that it may open your ears, and dispose your mindes to embrace those offers of peace and reconciliation, which have been so often, and so earnestly made unto you by Vs, and from the constant and fervent endeavours, of which we are resolved never to desist. In pursuance whereof, We do upon this occasion conjure you to take into consideration Our (too long neglected) Message of the fourth of July from *Evelham*, which We again renew unto you. And that you will speedily send Vs such an Answer thereunto, as may shew unto Our poor Subjects, some light of a deliverance from their present calamities by a happy accommodation, toward which We do here engage the word of a King, to make good all those things which We have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And so
God

God direct you in the wayes of peace.

*Given at Our Court at Tavestock, the eighth of
Septemb. 1644.*

13. *His Majesties Message for a safe conduct for certain persons of Honour, to be sent with Propositions of Peace.* Decemb. 5. 1645. Oxford.

Charls R.

HIS Majesty being deeply sensible of the continuation of this bloody and unnaturall War, cannot think himself discharg'd of the duty He owes to God, or the affection and regard He hath to the preservation of His people, without the constant application of His earnest endeavours to finde some Expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that may be, doth therefore desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent, for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Ashburnham*, and *Jeffery Palmer* Esquires, and their attendants, with Coaches, Horses, and other accommodations for their journey to *Westminster*, during their stay there, and return when they shall think fit. Whom His Majesty intends to send to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furnished with such Propositions, as His Majesty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, 5 Decemb. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore.*

His

14. *His Majesties Message of Decemb. 15. 1645. in pursuance of the former. Oxford.*

C. R.

HIS Majesty cannot but extremely wonder, that after so many expressions on your part, of a deep and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicted Kingdom, and of the dangers incident to His Person during the continuance of this unnaturall War; your many great and so often repeated Protestations, that the raising of these Arms hath been onely for the necessary defence of Gods true Religion, His Majesties honour, safety and prosperity, the peace, comfort, and security of his people, you should delay a safe Conduct to the persons mentioned in His Majesties Message of the fifth of this instant *December*, which are to be sent unto you with Propositions for a well-grounded peace: A thing so far from having been denied at any time by His Majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that Hee believes it hath been seldome (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed enemies, much lesse from Subjects to their King. But His Majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make Him fail of His part in doing his utmost endeavours to put an end to these calamities, which if not in time prevented, must prove the ruine of this unhappy Nation: And therefore doth once again desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in His former Message, and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God, in that day when He shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may be yet spilt in this unnaturall War; as you tender the preservation & establishment of the true Religion; by all the bonds of duty
and

and Allegiance to your King, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy Countrey, and of charity to your selves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his Majesty, to set a speedy end to these wasting Divisions, and then He shall not doubt, but that God will again give the blessing of peace to this distracted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 15 of Decemb. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of
Peers pro tempore.*

15. *His Majesties Message for a Personall Treaty, with Propositions for Peace, December 15. 1645. Oxford.*

C. R.

Notwithstanding the strange and unexpected delays (which can be presided by no former times) to His Majesties two former Messages, His Majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, than to contribute any remedy to the evils, which (for the present) do afflict this distracted Kingdom; therefore without further preamble, His Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these propositions this way, which He intended to doe by the persons mentioned in His former Messages, though He well knows the great disadvantage, which Overtures of this kind have, by the want of being accompanied by well instructed Messengers.

His Majesty conceiving that the former Treaties have hitherto proved ineffectuall, chiefly for want of power in those persons that Treated, as likewise because

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because those from whom their power was derived (not possibly having the particular informations of every severall debate) could not give so clear a judgement as was requisite in so important a businesse; If therefore His Majesty may have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councell, and Militia of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, as also those in the *Scots* Army, for His Majesties free and safe coming to, and abode in *London* or *Westminster*, (with such of His servants now attending Him, and their followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the space of forty dayes, and after the said time for His free and safe repair to any of his Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or *Newark*, (which his Majesty shal nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Westminster*) His Majesty propounds to have a personall Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of peace and happinesse to these miserable distracted Kingdoms: And to begin with the three Heads which were Treated on at *Vxbridge*. And for the better clearing of His Majesties earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnaturall distractions, (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) His Majesty therefore declares, That He is willing to commit the great trust of the Militia of this Kingdome, for such time, and with such powers, as are exprest in the Paper delivered by His Majesties Commissioners at *Vxbridge*, the sixth of February last to these persons following, viz. The Lord *Privy Seal*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*,

ford, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Chichester*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Lexington*, M. *Denzil Hollis*, M. *Pierpoint*, M. *Hen. Bellasis*, M. *Rich. Spencer*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, M. *John Ashburnham*, Sir *Gervas Clifton*, Sir *Hen. Vane jun.* M. *Rob. Wallop*, M. *Thomas Chicheley*, M. *Oliver Cromwell*, M. *Philip Skippon*, supposing that these are persons against whom there can be no just exception: But if this doth not satisfie, then His Majesty offers to name the one halfe, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majesty calls God and the World to witness, of His sincere intentions and real endeavours, for the composing and settling of these miserable Distractions, which He doubts not, but by the blessing of God, will soon be put to a happy Conclusion, if this His Majesties offer be accepted: Otherwise He leaves all the World to judge, who are the continuers of this unnaturall war. And therefore He once more conjures you, by all the bonds of duty you owe to God and your King, to have so great a compassion on the bleeding and miserable estate of your Countrey, That you joyn your most serious and hearty endeavours with his Majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present miseries.

Given at the Court at *Oxford* the 26 of Decem. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

His

16. *His Majesties Message in pursuance of the former, for a Personall Treaty at Westminster, Decemb. 29. 1645. Oxford.*

C. R.

Although the Message sent by Sir *Peter Killegrew* may justly require an expostulatory Answer, yet His Majesty layes that aside, as not so proper for His present endeavours; leaving all the World to judge, whether his Proposition for a personal Treaty, or the flat deniall of a safe Conduct for persons to begin a Treaty, be greater signes of a reall intention to peace; and shall now onely insist upon His former Message of the 26 of this *December*. That upon His repair to *Westminster*, He doubts not but so to joyn His endeavours with His two Houses of Parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not onely concerning the businesse of *Ireland*, but also for the settling of a way for the payment of the publique debts, as well to the *Scots*, and to the City of *London*, as others. And as already he hath shewn a fair way for the settling of the Militia, so He shall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just Iealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired peace. And certainly this Proposition of a personall Treaty could never have entred into His Majesties thoughts, if He had not resolved to make apparent to all the World, that the publick good and peace of this Kingdom, is far dearer to Him than the respect of any particular interest. Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration, that he particularly envies His Majesty should be the chief Author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring Himself a direct opposer of the happy peace of these Nations.

Nations. To conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed, that his fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test; and those who have a reall sense, and do truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding Countrey, let them speedily and cheerfully embrace his Majesties proposition for His personall Treaty at *Westminster*, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now distracted Kingdoms, restore the happinesse of a long-wisht-for, and lasting peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 29 day of december. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated to
the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster, and the Commissioners
of the Parliament of Scotland.*

17. *His Majesties Message of Iannary 15. 1645. in pursuance of the former, containing His Majesties Concessions and Offers. Oxford.*

C. R.

BUt that these are times, wherein nothing is strange; it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what should cause this unparallel'd long detention of His Majesties Trumpet, sent with his gracious Message of the twenty six of December last: peace being the only subject of it, and his Majesties personall Treaty, the means proposed for it. And it were almost as great a wonder, that his Majesty should be so long from enquiring after it, if the hourly expectation thereof had not, in some measure, satisfied His impatience: But lest His Majesty by his long silence, should condemne himselfe of carelesse nesse in that, which so much concerns
G the

the good of all His people, He thinks it high time to enquire after His said Trumpeter : For since all men who pretend any goodnesse, must desire peace ; and that all men know Treaties to be the best and most Christian way to procure it, and there being as little question, that His Majesties personall presence in it, is the likeliest way to bring it to a happy issue, He judges there must be some strange variety of accidents, which causeth this most tedious delay ; wherefore his Majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy account of His former Message, the Subject whereof is Peace, and the means His personall presence at *Westminster*, where the government of the Church being settled, as it was in the times of the happy and glorious reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*; and full liberty for the ease of their Consciences, who will not communicate in that service established by Law ; and likewise for the free and publick use of the Directory (prescribed, and by command of the two Houses of Parliament, now practised in some parts of the City of *London*) to such as shall desire to use the same ; and all forces being agreed to be disbanded, his Majesty will then forthwith (as He hath in his Message of the twenty ninth of December last, already offered) joyn with his two Houses of Parliament, in settling some way for the payment of the publick Debts to his *Scots* Subjects, the City of *London* and others : and his Majesty having proposed a faire way, for the settling of the *Militia*, which now by this long delay seems not to be thought sufficient security ; his Majesty (to shew how really He will employ himselfe at his coming to *Westminster*) for making this a lasting peace, and taking away all jealousies (how groundlesse soever) will indeavour upon debate with his two Houses, so to dispose of (as likewise of the businesse of *Ireland*) as may give them and both Kingdoms just satisfaction ; not doubting

ring also, but to give good contentment to His two Houses of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admirall, the Officers of State, and others, if His two Houses, by their ready inclinations to peace shall give Him encouragement thereunto. Thus His Majesty having taken occasion by his just impatience so to explaine His intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy issue to this succeeding Treaty: if now there shall be so much as a delay of the same, He calls God and the World to witnesse, who they are, that not only hinder, but reject this Kingdoms future happinesse, it being so much the stranger, that his Majesties coming to *Westminster*, (which was the first and greatest pretence for taking up Arms) should be so much as delayed, much lesse not accepted, or refused; but His Majesty hopes, that God will no longer suffer the malice of wicked men to hinder the peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 15 of January, 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be Communicated to
the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the
Parliament of Scotland.

18 His Majesties Message of January seventeenth,
1645. for an answer to His former Messages.

Oxford.
His Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those
aspersions which are returned as arguments for
his non admittance to *Westminster* for a personal
Treaty, because it would enforce a style not suitable

to His end, it being the peace of those miserable Kingdoms: yet thus much He cannot but say to those who have sent Him this answer, that if they had considered what they had done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their duty to Him, in a time when He had granted so much to his Subjects, and in violating the known Laws of the Kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow Subjects, (to say no more, to do as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of his Majesties actions. Wherefore his Majesty must now remember them, that having some hours before his receiving of their last paper of the 13 of January, sent another Message to them of the 15. wherein by divers particulars He enlargeth himself to shew the reality of His endeavors for Peace by His desired personall Treaty (which He still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed end) He thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly no rationall man can think their last paper can be any Answer to His former demands, the scope of it being, that because there is a War, therefore there should be no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible to expect that the Propositions mentioned should be the grounds of a lasting Peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speake? But what ever the successe hath been of his Majesties former Messages, or how small so ever his hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with his Majesty, yet He will neither want Fatherly bowels to His Subjects in generall, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He treats. Wherefore He now demands a speedy Answer to His

last and former Messages.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, this 17 of January,
1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated,
&c.*

19. *His Majesties Message of January 24. 1645. for
Answer to His former Message, and concerning
their Reasons against a Personall Treaty.
Oxford.*

C. R

THe procuring Peace to these Kingdoms by Treaty,
is so much desired by his Majesty, that no un-
just aspersions whatsoever, or any other discourage-
ments shall make Him desist from doing His endeavour
therein, untill He shall see it altogether impossible:
and therefore hath thought fitting so far only to make
reply to that paper or Answer which He hath received
of the thirteenth of this instant January, as may take
away those objections which are made against his Ma-
jesties coming to *Westminster*, expecting still an An-
swer to His Messages of the fifteenth, and seventeenth,
which he hopes by this time have begotten better
thoughts and resolutions, in the Members of both
Houses. And first therefore, whereas in the said last
paper it is objected as an impediment to his Maje-
sties personall Treaty, that much innocent blood
hath been shed in this War, by his Majesties Com-
missions, &c. He will not now dispute (it be-
ing apparent to all the World by whom this blood
hath been spilt) but rather presse that there should
be no more: and (to that end only) He hath desi-
red a personall Treaty, as judging it the most im-

mediate means to abolish so many horrid confusions in all his His Kingdoms. And it is no Argument, to say, That there shall be no such personall Treaty, because there have been Wars, it being a strong inducement to have such a Treaty to put an end to the War. Secondly, that there should be no such personal Treaty, because some of His Irish Subjects have repaired to His assistance in it, seems an Argument altogether as strange as the other, as alwayes urging that there should be no physick, because the party is sick: and in this particular it hath been often observed unto them, that those whom they call Irish, who have so expressed their loyalty to their Sovereign, were indeed (for the most part) such English Protestants, as had been formerly sent into *Ireland* by the two Houses, impossibilitated to stay there any longer by the neglect of those that sent them thither, who should there have better provided for them. And for any ^{Forra}in forces, it is too apparent that *their* Armies have swarmed with them, when his Majesty hath had very few or none. And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alleged that the Prince is in the head of an Army in the *West*, and that there are divers Garrisons still kept in his Majesties obedience, and that there are forces in *Scotland*; it must be as much confessed, as that as yet there is no peace: And therefore it is desired, that by such a personall Treaty, all these impediments may be removed. And it is not here amisse to put them in mind, how long since his Majesty did presse a disbanding of all forces on both sides, the refusing whereof hath been the cause of this objection. And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the Proposition for his Majesties personall Treaty, thereupon inferring, that he should again return to hostility, his Majesty protesteth that he seeks this Treaty to void future

future hostility, and to procure a lasting peace; and if he can meet with like inclinations to peace in those he desires to Treat with, He will bring such affections and resolutions in himself, as shall end all these unhappy bloody differences. As for those engagements which his Majesty hath desired for his security, when sever shall call to minde the particular occasions that enforced his Majesty to leave his City of *London* and *Westminster*, will judge his demand very reasonable and necessary for his safety. But he no way conceiveth how the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Councill, and *Militia* of *London*, were either subject or subordinate to that Authority which is alleged, as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: And if the two Armies be, he believes it is more than can be parallell'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can his Majesty understand how his Majesties seeking for a personall security can be any breach of privilege: it being likely to be infringed by hindering his Majesty from coming freely to his two Houses. As for the objection that his Majesty omitted to mention the settling of Religion, and securing the peace of his Native Kingdom, his Majesty declares, that he conceives that it was included in his former, and hath been particularly mentioned in his latter Message of the 15 present. But, for their better satisfaction, he againe expresseth that it was, and ever shall be, both his meaning and endeavour in this Treaty desired; and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for a finall ending of such distractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conquest, the latter of which his Majesty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wish for. And for the former, if his personall assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge: when by that means not only all

unnecessary delayes will be removed, but even the greatest difficulties made easy. And therefore he doth now againe earnestly insist upon that proposition expecting to have a better answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any propositions will be so effectuell, being formed before a personall Treaty, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both sides? Wherefore his Majesty who is most concerned in the good of His people, and is most desirous to restore peace and hapinesse to His three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to His said former Messages, to which He hath hitherto received none.

Given at Our Court at Oxon, the 24 of January 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

20. *His Majesties Message of January the twenty ninth 1645. about Ireland, and His Majesties further Concessions, and desire of a Personall Treaty.*

O X F O R D.

C. R.

His Majesty having received information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councill in Ireland; That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privy, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certaine Articles with

with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to his Majesties honour and Royall dignity, and most prejudiciall unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*; Whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested, upon suspition of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, at the instance and by the impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and former imployment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl hath been to his Majesties intentions and directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan* should be any wayes understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his Majesty.

His Majesty, having in his former Messages for a personal Treaty offered to give contentment to His two Houses in the businesse of *Ireland*; hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said Houses of Parliament, and the rest of his Subjects in all his Kingdoms, to send this Declaration to his said Houses, containing the whole truth of the businesse, which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto Him to raise Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to Conduct them into *England* for his Majesties Service, had a Commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only.

That he had no Commission at all to Treat of any thing lese, without the privy and directions of the L. Lieut. much elsse to Capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any propriety belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenants proceedings with the said Earl, that he had no notice at all of

of what the said Earle had treated and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, until by accident it came to his knowledge.

And his Majesty doth protest, That untill such time as he had advertisement, that the person of the said Earle of *Glamorgan* was arrested and restrained, as is abovesaid, he never heard, nor had any kind of notice, that the said Earle had entred into any kinde of Treaty or Capitulation with those Irish Commissioners; much lesse, that He had Concluded or Signed those Articles so destructive both to Church and State, and so Repugnant to his Majesties publick professions, and known Resolutions.

And for the further vindication of his Majesties honour and integrity herein, He doth declare, That He is so far from considering any thing contained in those Papers or Writings framed by the said Earle, and those Commissioners with whom he Treated, as He doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given commandment to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Councell there, to proceed against the said Earle, as one, who either out of falseness, presumption, or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of his Majesties Reputation, with his good Subjects, and so impertinently framed those Articles of his own head, without the consent, privy, or directions of his Majesty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majesties Councell there. But true it is, that for the necessary preservation of his Majesties Protestant Subjects in IRELAND, whose case was dayly represented unto him to be so desperate, his Majesty had given Commission to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclide such a peace there, as might be for the safety of that Crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no way derogatory to his own honour, and publick professions.

But

But to the end, that his Majesties reall intentions in this businesse of *Ireland*, may be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, especially concerning his Majesties not being engaged in any peace or agreement there; He doth desire, if the two Houses shall admit of his Majesties repaire to *London*, for a personal Treaty, (as was formerly proposed) that speedy notice be given thereof to his Majesty, and a passe or safe conduct, with a blank sent for a Messenger to be immediately dispatcht into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder his Majesties resolution of leaving the Managing of the businesse of *Ireland* wholly to the two Houses, and to make no peace there, but with their consent, which in case it shall please God to blesse his endeavours in the Treaty with successe, his Majesty doth hereby engage himselfe to do.

And for a further explanation of his Majesties intentions in his former Messages, He doth now declare, that if his personall repaire to *London*, as aforesaid, shall be admitted, and a peace thereon shall ensue, He will then leave the nomination of the persons to be intrusted with the *Militia*, wholly to his two houses, with such power and limitations as are expressed in the paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at *Vxbridge* the sixth of February, 1644. for the term of seven years, as hath been desired, to be given immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the disbanding of all forces on both sides, and the dismantling of the Garrisons erected since these present troubles, so as at the expiration of the time before mentioned, the power of the **MILITIA** shall entirely revert and remaine as before.

And

And for their further security, his Majesty (the peace succeeding) will be content, that *pro hac vice*, the two Houses shall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *quam diu se bene gesserint*, which shall be best liked, to be accountable to none but the King, and the two Houses of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion, his Majesty doth further declare, That by the Liberty offered in his Message of the 15 present, for the ease of their Consciences who will not communicate in the service already established by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom, He intends that all other Protestants behaving themselves peaceably in and towards the Civill government, shall have the free exercise of their Religion, according to their own way.

And for the totall removing of all Fears and Jealousies, his Majesty is willing to agree, that upon the conclusion of peace, there shall be a generall Act of Oblivion and free pardon past by Act of Parliament in both his Kingdoms respectively.

And lest it should be imagined, that in the making these propositions, his Majesties Kingdom of *Scotland*, and his Subjects there have been forgotten or neglected, his Majesty declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State, and Judges, shall likewise extend to his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And now his Majesty having so fully and clearly expressed his intentions and desires of making a happy and well-grounded peace, if any person shall decline that happinesse by opposing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he will sufficiently demonstrate to all the World his intention and designe can be no other, than the totall subversion and change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom
under

under which the English Nation hath so long flourished

Given at our Court at Oxon the twenty foure of January 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

21. *His Majesties Message for an Answer to His last. Feb. 26. 1645. Oxford.*

C. R

HIS Majesty needs to make no excuse, though he sent no more Messages unto you: for He very well knowes He ought not to do it, if He either stood upon punctilio's of honour, or his own private interest; the one being already call'd in question by his often sending, and the other assuredly prejudg'd if a peace be concluded from that He hath already offered, He having therein departed with many his undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto him, to the preservation of his people, his Majesty passeth by many scruples, neglects, and delays, and once more desires you to give Him a speedy answer to his last Message; for his Majesty believes it doth very well become him (after this very long delay) at last to utter his impatience, since the goods and blood of his Subjects cries so much for peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 26 day of December 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

His

22. *His Majesties Message for coming to London,
upon the faith of the two Houses, March 23. 1645.
Oxford*

C. R.

NOtwithstanding the unexpected silence in stead of answer to his Majesties many and gracious Messages to both Houses; whereby it may appear, that they desire to obtaine their ends by force, rather than by Treaty, which may justly discourage his Majesty from any more overtures of that kind, yet his Majesty conceives he shall be much wanting in his duty to God, and in what he oweth to the safety of his people, if He should not intend to prevent the great inconveniences that may otherwise hinder a safe and well-grounded peace. His Majesty therefore now proposeth, that, so He may have the faith of both Houses of Parliament, for the preservation of his honour, person and estate; and that Liberty be given to all those who do and have adhered to his Majesty to go to their own houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their estates, all Sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoined by the undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever, He will immediately disband all his Forces, and dismantle all his Garrisons, and being accompanied with his Royall, not his Martiall Attendance, returne to his two Houses of Parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better security of all his Majesties Subjects, He proposeth that He with his said two Houses immediately upon his coming to *Westminster* will passe an Act of Oblivion and free pardon, and where his Majesty will further do whatsoever they will advise him for the good and peace of this Kingdom. And as for the Kingdom

dom of *Scotland*, his Majesty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great losse of time which must now be spent in expecting an answer from thence, but declares that, immediately upon his coming to *Westminster*, He will apply himself to give them all satisfaction touching that Kingdom. If his Majesty could possibly doubt the successe of this offer, He could use many arguments to perswade them to it; but shall only insift on that great One of giving an instant peace to these afflicted Kingdoms.

Given at Our Court at Oxford the 23 of March 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated to
the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster.*

23. *His Majesties Message of May 18. 1646. from
Southwel. Concerning His further Concessions for
the obtaining of Peace.*

C. R.

HIS Majesty having understood from both his Houses of Parliament, that it was not safe for him to come to **LONDON** (whither he had purposed to repaire, if so He might, by their advice to do whatsoever may be best for the good and peace of these Kingdoms) untill He shall first give his consent to such propositions as were to be presented to him from them: and being certainly informed that the Armies were marching so fast up to **OXFORD**, and made that no fit place for treating, did resolve to withdraw himselfe hither, only to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this Warre any longer, or to make any division betweene his
two

two Kingdoms, but to give such contentment to both, as, by the blessing of God, he might see a happy and well-grounded peace, thereby to bring prosperity to these Kingdoms, answerable to the best times of his Progenitors.

And since the settling of Religion ought to be the chiefest care of all Councells, his Majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two Houses of Parliament all the wayes and means possible, for speedy finishing this pious and necessary work; and particularly, that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at *Westminster*. Likewise concerning the *Militia of England*, for securing his people against all pretensions of danger, his Majesty is pleased to have it settled as was offered at the Treaty at *Voxbridge*, all the persons being to be named for the trust by the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, for the space of seven years, and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as shall be agreed upon by his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Wars in *Ireland*, his Majesty will do whatsoever is possible for him, to give full satisfaction therein.

And if these be not satisfactory, his Majesty then desires that all such of the propositions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms may be speedily sent unto him; his Majesty being resolved to comply with his Parliament in every thing that shall be for the happiness of his Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have produced so many sad effects.

His Majesty having made these offers, he will neither question the thankfull acceptance of them; nor doth he doubt but that his two Kingdoms will be careful

carefull to maintain Him in his honour, and in His just and lawfull Rights, which is the onely way to make a happy composure of these unnaturall Divisions. And likewise will think upon a solid way of conserving the peace between the two Kingdoms for time to come. And will take a speedy courie for easing and quieting His afflicted people by satisfying the publike debts, by disbanding of all Armies, and whatsoever else shall be judged conducible to that end: that so, all hindrances being removed, He may return to His Parliament with mutuall comfort.

Southwell May 18. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

His Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of blood, and to evidence His reall intentions to peace, is willing that His Forces in, and about Oxford, be disbanded, and the fortifications of the City dismantled, they receiving honourable conditions. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, His Majesty will give the like order to the rest of the Garrisons.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers,
pro tempore, To be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster, and the Commissioners
of the Parliament of Scotland.*

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24. *His Majesties Message from Newcastle June 10.
1646. For Propositions of Peace, and a personall Treaty
at London, with His Letter to the Governours
of all His Garrisons.*

C. R.

His Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of His people in His three Kingdoms

doms for some years past, and being afflicted with their distresses and unquiet condition, through the distractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces on foot in the fields and Garrisons, the not satisfying the publick debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood by the continuance of an unnaturall War in any of these Kingdoms, or by renting and dividing these Kingdoms so happily united: And having sent a gracious Message unto both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, expressing the necessary causes of His coming from *Oxford* unto the *Scottish* Army, (without any intention to make a Division, where He is in freedom and right Capacity to settle a true peace) and containing such offers as He conceived would have been accepted, with a generall clause of complying with their desires; And being impatient of delays, and not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them, His Majesty doth earnestly desire, That the Propositions of Peace so often promised, and so much expected, may be speedily sent unto Him, That upon consideration of them, He may apply himself to give such satisfaction, as may be the foundation of a firm peace. And for the better and more speedy attaining thereunto, his Majesty doth further propound, That He may come to *London* with Safety, Freedom, and Honour, where He resolves to comply with His Houses of Parliament in every thing which may be most for the good of His Subjects, and perfect what remains for settling both Kingdoms and people in a happy condition; being likewise most confident, That they according to their reiterated Declarations, and solempne Protestations, will be zealous in the maintenance of His Honour, just and lawfull Rights. And his Majesty desires the Houses of Parliament, To disburden the Kingdoms

His Majesties Messages for Peace. 99

of all Forces and Garrisons in their power, except such as before these unhappy times have been maintained for the necessary defence and safety of this Kingdom ; So He is willing forthwith to disband all His Forces & Garrisons within the same, as the inclosed order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these offers His Majesty shall have such satisfaction as He may be confident a firm peace shall ensue thereon, His Majesty will then give order for His Son the Prince his present return.

Newcastle, the tenth of June, 1646.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

Charles R.

HAVING resolved to comply with the desires of Our Parliament in every thing which may be for the good of Our Subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all differences amongst Vs ; Therefore We have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of Our intentions of settling a happy and firm peace, to require you upon honourable terms to quit those Towns, Castles, and Forts, intrusted to you by Vs, and to disband all the Forces under your severall commands.

Newcastle, the tenth of June, 1646.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved
 } Sir Thomas Glenham.
 } Sir Thomas Tildesly.
 } Col. H. Washington.
 } Col. Thomas Blagg.

Governours of Our Cities and Towns
 of *Oxford, Lichfield, Worcester, and*
Wallingford.

And all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles,
 and Forts in Our Kingdom of *England.*

25. *His Majesties Message of August 1. 1646. from*
Newcastle, for a personall Treaty, at or near London,
upon the Propositions sent to Him.

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by the
 Commissioners from the Lords and Commons
 Assembled in the Parliament of *England at Westminster*,
 and the Commissioners of the Parliament of
Scotland, (to which the Houses of Parliament have
 taken twice so many moneths for deliberation, as
 they have assigned dayes for His Majesties Answer)
 do import so great alterations in Government, both
 in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to re-
 turne a particular and positive Answer before a full
 debate, wherein these Propositions, and the necessary
 explanations, true sense & reasons thereof be rightly
 weighed and understood, and that His Majesty upon
 a full view of the whole Propositions may know what
 is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all
 which He findes (upon discourse with the said Com-
 missioners) that they are so bound up from any capa-
 city, either to give reasons for the demands they
 bring, or to give ear to such desires as His Majesty
 to propound, as it is impossible for Him to give such

a present judgment of, and answer to these propositions, whereby He can answer to God that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unlesse the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and privileges of the Parliament be likewise settled) To which end His Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of His houses thereabouts upon the publick faith, and security of the two Houses of Parliament, and the *Scotch* Commissioners, That He shall be there with freedom, honour, and safety, where by His personall presence He may not onely raise a mutuall confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have these doubts cleared, and these difficulties explained unto Him, which He now conceives to be destructive to his just regall power, if He shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand.

As likewise, that He may make known to them, such His reasonable demands as He is most assured will be very much conducive to that peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by the settling of Religion the just privileges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject ; and his Majesty assures them, that as He can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the laws of God and the Land He is born unto; So He will cheerfully grant, and give his assent unto all such bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland*, which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much lesse of any bodies else) in respect of the happinesse of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will so receive and

make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

Newcastle, August 1. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

Vpon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.*

26. *His Majesties Message from Newcastle, August 10. 1646. With a generall Answer to the Propositions, and His desire to treat at or near LONDON.*

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westm.* and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many moneths for deliberation as they have assigned dayes for his Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations in government both in the Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive answer before a full debate wherein these Propositions, and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty upon a full view of the whole Propositions may know what is left, as well

as what is taken away and changed. In all which he finds, upon discourse with the said Commissioners, that they are so bound up from any capacity either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for Him to give such a present judgement of, and answer to these propositions, whereby He can answer to God that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be unless the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and privileges of Parliament be likewise settled) To which end his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of his Houses thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and security of the two Houses of Parliament, and the *Scotch* Commissioners, that He shall be there with freedom, honour, and safety, where by his personal presence He may not only raise a mutual confidence betwixt Him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained unto Him which He now conceives to be destructive to his just regal power if He shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand.

As likewise that He make known to them such his reasonable demands as He is most assured will be very much conducive to that peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by settling of Religion, the just Privileges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and His Majesty assures them, that as He can never condescend, unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the laws of God and the Land He is born unto; So He will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland* which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own

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particular

particular (much lesse of any bodies else) in respect of the happinesse of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subj^{ts}, and as men who desire to leave a good name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this answer, that all issues of bloud may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled,

*To the Speaker of the House of
Peers pro tempore, to be commu-
nicated, &c.*

POST-SCRIPT.

VPon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince His Son, absolutely expecting his perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.

*His Majesties Message of December 20. 1646. from
Newcastle, for a personall Treaty, at or near Lon-
don, upon the faith of the two Houses.*

C. R.

HIs Majesties thoughts being alwayes sincerely bent to the peace of his Kingdomes, was and will be ever desirous to take all wayes which might the most clearly make appear the candour of his intentions to his people; And to this end, could finde no better way than to propose a personall free debate with his two Houses of Parliament upon all the present differences. Yet finding very much against his expectations, that this offer was laid aside, his Majesty bent all his thoughts to make his intentions fully known by a particular Answer to the Propositions delivered to Him in the name of both Kingdoms, the 24 of July last. But the more He endeavoured

voured it, He more plainly saw that any answer He could make would be subject to mis-informations and misconstructions, which upon his own Paraphrases and Explanations He is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtlesse cause a happy and lasting peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, his Majesty againe proposeth, and desires again to come to *London*, or any of his Houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and security of his two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, that He shall be there with honour, freedom and safety: Where, by his personal presence, He may not onely raise a mutuall confidence betwixt Him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him, without which he cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniencies) give a particular answer to the propositions: And with which He doubts not, but so to manifest his reall intertions for the settling of Religion, the just privileges of Parliament, with the freedom and property of the Subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as He will make no other demands but such as He believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the Tranquillity of the people. So He will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happinesse. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just power of the Crown, according to your many protestations and professions. For certainly, except King and people have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your King who desires to be heard, (the which, if refused to a Subject by a King, He would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men profess to desire. Wherefore his Majesty conjures
you

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you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you professe, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this his offer, which He is confident God will so blasse, that it will be the readiest means by which these Kingdoms may againe become a comfort to their friends, and a terroure to their enemies.

Newcastle 20 Decemb. 1646.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster, and to the Com-
missioners of the Parliament of
Scotland.*

28. *His Majesties Message of February 17. 1646.
from HOLMBY. Concerning his*

CHAPLAINS.

SINCE I have never dissembled, nor hid My Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire my consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for Me to be attended by some of my Chaplains, whose opinions, as Clergymen, I esteem and reverence; not onely for the exercise of My Conscience, but also for clearing of My judgement concerning the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Master Marshall, and his Fellow-Minister: having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving Me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times: Whereby the distractions of this Church may be the better settled. Wherefore I desire that,

at least two of these *Reverend Divines*, whose names I have here set down, may have free liberty to wait upon Me, for the discharging of their duty unto Me, according to their function.

C H A R L S R.

Holmby 17 Febr. 1646.

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| B. <i>London.</i> | D. <i>Sanderson.</i> |
| B. <i>Salisbury.</i> | D. <i>Baily.</i> |
| B. <i>Peterborough.</i> | D. <i>Heywood.</i> |
| D. <i>Shelden</i> , Clerk of my Closet. | D. <i>Beale.</i> |
| D. <i>Marsh</i> , Deane of <i>Tork.</i> | D. <i>Fuller.</i> |
| | D. <i>Hammond.</i> |
| | D. <i>Taylor.</i> |

*For the Speaker of the House of
Peers pro tempore, &c.*

29 *His Majesties Message of March 6. 1646. from
Holmby in pursuance of the former.*

C. R.

IT being now seventeen dayes since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of Christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of My desires. But My being attended with some of My Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for Me, even considering My present condition, whether it be in relation to My Conscience, or a happy settlement of the present distractions in Religion, that I will slight divers kinds of censures, rather than not to obtain what I demand; nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this, to doubt the
obtai-

obtaining of My wish, it being totally grounded upon Reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needfull to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in Argument, but to seeke and submit to Truth (according to that judgment which God hath given me) alwayes holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two Houses of Parliament in all things, which, I conceive not to be against My conscience or honour; not doubting likewise* but that you will be ready to satisfie mee in reasonable things, as I hope to finde in this particular concerning the attendance of My CHAPLAINs upon Me.

CHARLS R.

Holdenby 6. March 1646.

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore, to be
communicated to the two
Houses of Parliament at
Westminster.*

30. *His Majesties Message with His answer in particular to the Propositions, May 12. 1647. Holmby.*

C. R.

AS the dayly expectation of the comming of the Propositions hath made his Majesty this long time to forbear giving his Answer unto them, so the appearance of their sending being no more for any thing he can hear, than it was at his first coming hither, notwithstanding that the Earl of *Londerdale* hath been at London above these ten dayes, (whole not coming was said to be the onely stop) hath caused his Majesty thus to anticipate their coming to him, and yet considering his condition, that his Servants are denied accesse to him, all but very few, and those by appointment, not his own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commissioners, or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with his Majesty, or that any Letters should be given to, or received from him, may he not truly say, that He is not in case fit to make Concessions, or give Answers, since he is not master of these ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any freeborn man, how mean soever his birth be? And certainly e would still be silent as to this subject, untill his condition were much mended, did He not prefer such a right understanding betwixt him and his Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and lasting peace in all his Dominions, before any particular of his own; or any earthly blessing, and therefore his Majesty hath diligently imployed his utmost endeavours for divers moneths past, so to inform his understanding, and satisfie his Conscience, that he might be able to give such answers to the Propositions, as would be most conformable to his Parliaments; but He ingeniously

niously professes, that notwithstanding all the pains that He hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto him, that without disclaiming that Reason which God hath given him to judge by, for the good of Him and his people, and without putting the greatest violence upon his owne Conscience, He cannot give his consent to all of them. Yet his Majesty (that it may appear to all the World how desirous He is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to expresse his readinesse to grant what he may, and his willingness to receive from them, and that personally if his two Houses at *Westminster* shall approve thereof, such further Information in the rest as may best convince his judgement, and satisfie those doubts which are not yet cleare unto him, desiring them also to consider that if his Majesty intended to winde himself out of these troubles by indirect means, were it not easie for him now readily to consent to what hath, or shall be proposed unto Him; and afterwards choose his time to breake all, alleging, that forced Concessions are not to be kept? surely He might, and not incur a hard censure from indifferent men. But maxims in this kinde are not the guides of his Majesties actions, for he freely and clearly avowes, that He holds it unlawfull for any man, and most base in a King to recede from his promises for having been obtained by force or under restraint; wherefore his Majesty not onely rejecting those acts which He esteems unworthy of him, but even passing by that which He might well insist upon, a point of honour, in respect of His present condition, thus answers the first proposition. That upon his Majesties coming to *London*, He will heartily joyn in all that shall concern the honour of his two Kingdoms, or the Assembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of ei-
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ther Kingdom, particularly in those things which are desired in that proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderneſſe will look upon those things which concern his Majesties honour.

In answer to all the propositions concerning Religion, his Majesty proposeth, that He will confirm the Presbyteriall government, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the Directory, for three yeers, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that his Majesty and his household be not hindered from that form of Gods service which they formerly have; And also that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses how the Church shall be governed after the said three yeers, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, his Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, and desires to respite his particular Answer thereunto untill his coming to *London*, because it being a matter of conscience he cannot give a resolution therein till Hee may be assisted with the advice of some of his owne Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and such other Divines as shall be most proper to inform him therein; and then He will make clearly appear, both his zeal to the Protestant profession, and the union of these two Kingdoms, which he conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the seventh and eighth propositions, his Majestie will consent. To the ninth, his MAJESTY doubts not but to give good satisfaction when he shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied and disposed of. To the tenth, his Majesties answer is, That He hath been alwayes ready to prevent the practices

practices of Papists, and therefore is content to passe an Act of Parliament for that purpose: And also that the Laws against them be duly executed. His Majesty will give his consent to the Act for the due observation of the Lords day, for the suppressing of Innovations, and those concerning the Preaching of Gods Word, and touching Non-Residence and pluralities, and his Majesty will yeeld to such Act or Acts as shall be requisite to raise monys for the payment and satisfying all publick debts, expecting also that his will be therein included. As to the Proposition touching the *Militia*, though his Majesty cannot consent unto it *in terminis* as it is proposed, because thereby He conceives, He wholly parts with the power of the Sword entrusted to him by God and the Lawes of the Land, for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once devesting Himself, and dis-inheriting his Posterity of that right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more than the name and shadow of it will remain: yet if it be onely security for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired, (which his Majesty alwayes understood to be the case, and hopes that herein He is not mistaken) his Majesty will give abundant satisfaction, to which end He is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the *Militia*, both by Sea and Land for the space of ten years be in the hands of such persons as the two Houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said terme to change the said persons, and substitute others in their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return to the proper Chanel again, as it was in the times of

Queen

Queen Elizabeth and King James of blessed memory And now his Majesty conjures his two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen and lovers of peace, by the duty they owe to his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, that they will accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull news of peace may be restored to this languishing Kingdom. His Majesty will grant the like to the Kingdom of *Scotland* if it be desired, and agree to al things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutuall Declarations proposed to be established in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, and the Modifications, Qualifications, and Branches which follow in the propositions, his Majesty only professes, that he doth not sufficiently understand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this he well knoweth, That a generall Act of Oblivion is the best bond of Peace; and that after intestine troubles, the wisdom of this and other Kingdoms hath usually and happily in all Ages granted generall Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of Persons and Families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become fuel to new disorders, or seeds to future troubles. His Majesty therefore desires, that his two Houses of Parliament would seriously descend into these considerations, and likewise tenderly look upon his condition herein, and the perpetuall dishonour that must cleave to him, if He shall thus abandon so many persons of Condition and fortune that have engaged themselves with and for Him, out of a sense of duty, and propounds as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to him, that a generall Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith passed by Act of Parliament. Touching the new great

I Seal,

Seal, his Majesty is very willing to confirm both it, and all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this present time, so that it be not thereby pressed to make void those Acts of his done by vertue of his great Seal, which in honour and justice He is obliged to maintaine: And that the future government thereof may be in his Majesty, according to the due course of Law. Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19 Article, his Majesty when he shall come to *Westminster* will gratifie his Parliament all that possible He may, without destroying the alterations which are necessary for the Crown. His Majesty will willingly consent to the Act for the confirmation of the privileges and customes of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the propositions for their particular advantage. And now that his Majesty hath thus farre endeavoured to comply with the desires of his two Houses of Parliament, to the end that this agreement may be firm and lasting, without the least face or question of restraint to blemish the same, his Majesty earnestly desires presently to be admitted to his Parliament at *Westminster*, with that honour which is due to their Sovereigne, there solemnly to confirme the same, and legally to passe the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well satisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewise such other pledges of mutuall love, trust, and confidence, as shall most concern the good of Him, and his people; upon which happy agreement, his Majesty will dispatch his Directions to the Prince his Son, to return immediately to Him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto.

Holmby, May 12. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster.*

31. *His Majesties Message with His Answer to the Propositions presented to Him at Hampton-Court*
Sept. 9. 1647. Hampton-Court.

C. R.

HIS Majesty cannot chuse but be passionately sensible (as He beleevs all his good Subjects are) of the late great distractions , and still languishing and unsetled State of this Kingdom ; and He calls God to witnesse, and is willing to give testimony to all the World of his readinesse to contribute his utmost endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing condition. His Majesty having perused the Propositions now brought to him; finds them the same in effect, which were offered to Him at NEWCASTLE. To some of which as He could not then consent without violation of his conscience and honour , So neither can He agree to others now conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of affairs, than when they were formerly presented unto Him , as being destructive to the main principall interests of the Army, and of all those , whose affections concur with them. And his Majesty having seen the proposalls of the Army to the Commissioners from his two Houses residing with them , and with them to be treated on , in order to the clearing and securing of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the settling of a Just and Lasting Peace. To which proposalls, as He conceives his two Houses not to be strangers; So He believes they will thinke with Him , that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace , than the propositions which at this time are tendred unto Him. He therefore propounds (as the best way in his judgment in order to a peace) that his two Houses would instantly

take into consideration those proposalls upon which there may be a personall Treaty with his Majesty, and upon such other propositions as his Majesty shall make; hoping that the said proposalls may be so moderated in the said Treaty, as to render them the more capable of his Majesties full Concession: Wherein He resolves to give full satisfaction to his people, for whatsoever shall concerne the Protestant profession, with Liberty to tender Consciences, the securing of the Lawes, Liberties & Properties of his Subjects, and all the just privileges of Parliaments for the future: and likewise by his present deportment in this Treaty, he will make the World clearly jndge of his intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty his Majesty will be well pleased (if it be thought fit) that Commissioners from the Army, (whose the proposalls are) may likewise be admitted. His Majesty therefore conjures his two Houses of Parliament, by the duty they owe God and his Majesty their King, and by the bowells of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, both for relief of their present sufferings, and to prevent future miseries, that they will forthwith accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull news of peace may be restored to this distressed Kingdom; And for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland* mentioned in the propositions, his Majesty will very willingly Treat upon those particulars with the Scotch Commissioners; and doubts not, but to give reasonable satisfaction to that His Kingdom.

At Hampton-Court the 9 of September. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.*

32. *His Majesties Message left on His Table at Hampton Court, Novemb. 11. 1647.*

C. R.

Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is the Common theme and desire of all men; common reason shews, that Kings lesse than any should endure captivity. And yet. I call God and the world to witnesse, with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint: which so long as I had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo: but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not only turn to my personal ruine, but likewise be of much more preiudice, than furtherance to the publick good, I thought I was bound as well by naturall, as politicall obligations, to seek my safety, by retiring my self for some time from the publique view both of my friends and enemies: And I appeal to all indifferent men, to Judge, if I have not just cause to free my selfe from the hands of those who change their principles with their condition, and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice, and with whom, the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced than punished: And as for their intentions to my person, their changing and putting more strict Guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this retirement mis-interpreted; for I shall earnestly and uncessantly endeavour the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace, where ever I am or shall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian blood: for which, how many times

have I desired, prest to be heard, and yet no ear given to Me? and can any reasonable man think, that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there can be a settled peace without it? Or that God will blesse those, who refuse to hear their own King? Surely no. Nay I must further add, that (besides what concerns my self) unlesse all other chief interests, have not only a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, those who have adhered to Me, & even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being in my opinion, a sinfull presumption, in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting peace.

Now as I cannot deny, but that my personall security is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take God to witnesse, that the publick peace is no lesse before my eyes: and I can find no better way to expresse this my profession (I know not what a wiser may do) than by desiring and urging that all chief Interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their Consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indemnity (which should extend to all the rest of my Subjects) and that all their arrears should be speedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawfull and honest meanes as I shall chuse. To conclude, let me be heard with Freedom, Honour, and Safety and I shal instantly breake through this Cloud of retirement, and shew my selfe really to be *Patrie*.

Hampton-Court November 11. 1647

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore. &c.*

33. *His Majesties Message of Novemb. 17. 1647. for a personall Treaty, with his particular concessions.*
From the Isle of Wight.

C. R.

His Majesty is confident that before this time, his two Houses of Parliament have received the Message which He left behind Him at *Hampton-Court* the eleventh of this moneth, by which they will have understood the reasons which enforced Him to go from thence, as likewise his constant endeavours, for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace wheresoever He should be: And being now in a place, where He conceives Himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly; He thinks it necessary (not only for making good of His own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace in these languishing and distressed Kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to his two Houses for that effect, which upon due examination of all Interests, may best conduce thereunto.

And because Religion is the best and chiefest foundation of peace, his Majesty will begin with that particular.

That for the abolishing Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. his Majesty clearly professeth, that He cannot give his consent thereunto, both in relation as He is a Christian, and a King: For the first, He avows that He is satisfied in his judgment, that this order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and ever since their time hath continued in all Christian Churches throughout the World, untill this last century of years; and in this Church in all times of change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the wisdom of his Ancestors, as the great preserver

of Doctrine, Discipline, and order in the service of God, As a King at his Coronation, He hath not only taken a solemn oath, to maintain this order, but his Majesty and his Predecessours in their confirmations of the great Charter, have inseparably woven the right of the Church into the liberties of the rest of the Subjects: and yet He is willing it be provided that the particular Bishops perform the several duties of their callings, both by their personall residence and frequent Preachings in their Diocesses, as also that they exercise no Act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent of their Presbyter; and will consent, that their powers in all things be so limited, that they be not grievous to tender Consciences: Wherefore, since his Majesty is willing to give ease to the Consciences of others, He sees no reason why He alone, and those of His judgment, should be pressed to a violation of theirs. Nor can his Majesty consent to the alienation of Church Lands, because it cannot be denied to be a sin of the highest Sacrilege; as also, that it subverts the intentions of so many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such profane violations, which his Majesty is very unwilling to undergo: And besides the matter of Conscience, his Majestic believes it to be a prejudice to the publick good, many of his Subjects having the benefit of renewing Leases at much easier Rates, than if those possessions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the discouragement which it will be to all learning and industry when such eminent rewards shall be taken away, which now lye open to the Children of meanest persons.

Yet his Majesty considering the great present distempers concerning Church-discipline, and that the Presbyterian government is now in practice, his Majesty to eschew confusion as much as may be, and for the satisfaction of his two Houses, is content that the said

Govern-

Government be legally permitted to stand, in the same condition it now is for 3 years; provided, that his Majesty and those of His judgment (or any other who cannot in Conscience submit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the Presbyterial government, but have free practice of their own profession, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) wherby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church government after the said time shall be settled, (or sooner if differences may be agreed) as is most agreeable to the Word of God; with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon Conscientious grounds from that settlement; alwayes provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tollerate those of the popish profession, nor the exempting of any popish Recusant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tollerate the publick profession of Atheism or Blasphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Christian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England*, ever since the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that right, which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown, by the Laws of this Nation & that which former Parliaments, as likewise this, hath acknowledged so to be, his Majesty cannot so much wrong that trust which the Laws of God and this Land have annexed to the Crown for the protection and security of His People, as to divest himself and Successors of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of His desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a peace, his Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the *Militia* both
by

by Sea and Land, for and during His whole reign, shall be ordered and disposed by the two Houses of Parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of Forces within this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the publick peace, and against forraign invasions; and that they shall have power during His said reign, to raise monies for the purposes aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty that now is, or any other (by any authority derived onely from Him) shall execute any of the said powers during his Majesties said reign, but such as shall act by the consent and approbation of the two Houses of Parliament, Neverthelesse his Majesty intends that all Patents, Commissions and other acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and acted as formerly; and that after his Majesties reign, all the power of the *Militia* shall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of blessed memory.

After this head of the *Militia*, the consideration of the arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the ease of His people, his Majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of His Conscience and Honour. Wherefore if his two Houses shall consent to remit unto Him such benefit out of Sequestrations from *Michaelmas* last, and out of Compositions that shall be made before the concluding of the peace, and the arrears of such as have been already made, the assistance of the Clergy, and the arrears of such Rents of His owne Revenue as his two Houses shall not have received before the concluding of the peace, his Majesty will undertake within the space of eighteen moneths, the payment of 400000 pounds for the satisfaction of the Army: And if those means shall not be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give way to the sale of forest Lands for that purpose, this being the publick

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Debt which in his Majesties judgment is first to be satisfied; and for other publick debts already contracted upon Church lands or any other Engagements, his Majesty will give his consent to such Act or Acts for raising of monies for payment thereof, as both Houses shall hereafter agree upon, so as they be equally laid, whereby His people (already too heavily burthened by these late distempers) may have no more pressures upon them than this absolute necessitie requires: And for the further securing of all fears, his Majesty will consent, that an Act of Parliament be passed for the disposing of the great Offices of State, and naming of privy Counsellours for the whole term of His reigne by the two Houses of Parliament, their Patents and Commissions being taken from his Majesty, and after to returne to the Crown, as is expressed in the Article of the *Militia*. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majesty very well knows the consequence of taking that away, by returning of all Tenures into common Socage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of his Subjects being Infants. Neverthelesse if the continuance thereof seem grievous to his Subjects, rather than He will fail on his part in giving satisfaction, He will consent to an Act for taking of it away, so as a full recompence be settled upon his Majesty and his Successours in perpetuity; and that the arrears now due be reserved unto him towards the payment of the arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majesty will consent to an Act for the suppressing and making null of all Oathes, Declarations and Proclamations against both or either House of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings against persons for adhering unto them: And his Majesty proposeth, (as the best expedient

expedient to take away all seeds of future differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to al his subjects.

As for *Ireland*. the cessation there is long since determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction to his two Houses concerning that kingdom.

And although his Majesty cannot consent in honour and justice to avoid all his own Grants and Acts past under his great seal since the two and twentieth of May, 1642 or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants passed under that made by the two Houses, yet his Majesty is confident, that upon perusall of particulars, He shall give full satisfaction to his two Houses, to what may reasonably be desired in that particular.

And now his Majesty conceives that by these His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the settlement of a peace) He hath clearly manifested His intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all Interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happinesse of his people. and for the perfecting of these concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two Houses, and for such just and reasonable demands, as his Majesty shall find necessary to propose on his part, He earnestly desires a personall Treaty at *London* with his two Houses, in honour freedom, and safety, it being in his judgment the most proper, and indeed, only means to a firm and settled peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All these things being by Treaty perfected, his Majesty believes his Houses will think it reasonable, that the proposalls of the Army concerning the Succession of Parliaments and their due elections, should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty will very readily apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both Joyned together, shall be made known unto Him.

C. R.

From the Isle of Wight November 17. 1647

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated to
the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster, and to the Com-
missioners of the Parliamen of
Scotland.*

34. *His Majesties Message of December 6. 1647. for an
Answer to his last from Carisbrook-Castle.*

C. R.

HAd his Majesty thought it possible that His two Houses could be imployed in things of greater concernment than the peace of this miserable distracted Kingdom; He would have expected with more patience, their leisure in acknowledging the receipt of His Message of the 16 of November last. But since there is not in nature, any consideration preceding to that of peace, his Majesties constant tenderneffe of the welfare of his Subjects, hath such a prevalence with Him, that He cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a personall treaty: which is, only so much the more desired by his Majesty, as it is superiour to all other means of peace. And truly, when his Majesty considers

considers the severall complaints He dayly hears from all parts of this Kingdon, That Trade is so decayed, all commodities so dear, and Taxes so insupportable, that even naturall subsistence will instantly faile; His Majesty (to perform the trust reposed in Him) must use His uttermost endeavours for peace, though He were to have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not his Majesty done His part for it, by deveesting himselfe of so much power and authority, as by his last Message He hath promised to do, upon the concluding of the whole peace? And hath He met with that acknowledgment from his two Houses, which this great grace and favour justly deserves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of peace must fall somewhere else, than on his Majesty.

To conclude, if ye will but consider in how little time this necessary good work will be done, if you the two Houses wil wait on his Majesty with same the resolutions for peace, as He will meet you, He no way doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this his Majesties earnest desire of a personall Treaty, and speedily desire His presence amongst you: Where all things agreed on being digested into Acts (till when, it is most unreasonable for his Majesty or his two Houses to desire each of other the least concession) this Kingdom may at last enjoy the blessing of a long-wisht-for peace.

Carisbrook-Castle, December 6. 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated,
&c.*

35. *His Majesties Message and Answer to the foure Bills, and the Proposition presented to him at Carisbrook-Castle, before the Votes of No Address.*

December 28. 1647.

C. R

THE necessity of complying with all engaged interests in these great distempers, for a perfect settlement of peace, his Majesty finds to be none of the least difficulties he hath met with since the time of His afflictions. Which is too visible, when at the same time, that the two Houses of the English Parliament do present to his Majesty severall Bills and Propositions for His consent, the Commissioners for *Scotland* do openly protest against them. So that were there nothing in the case, but the consideration of that difference, his Majesty cannot Imagine how to give such an Answer to what is now proposed, as thereby to promise Himself his great end, *A perfect peace.* And when his Majesty further considers, how impossible it is (in the condition He now stands) to fulfil the desires of the two Houses; since the only antient and known wayes of passing Laws, are either by his Majesties personall assent in the House of Peers, or by Commission under His great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at such failings in the manner of addresse, which is now made unto Him; Vnlesse his two Houses intend, that his Majesty shall allow of a great Seal made without His Authority, before there be any consideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the security it self, so for the present, it seems very unreasonable to his Majesty.

And though his Majesty is willing to believe, that the intentions of very many in both Houses, in sending these Bills before a Treaty, was only to obtain a trust from Him

Him, and not to take any advantage by passing them to force other things from Him, which are either against His Conscience or Honour: yet his Majesty believes it clear to all understandings, that these bills containe (as they are now penned not only the divesting himself of all Sovereignty, and that without possibility of recovering it, either to Him or His Successors, (except by repeal of those Bills) but also the making his Concessions guilty of the greatest pressures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houses for ever, to raise a new leavy forces for Land or Sea service, of what persons (without distinction or quality) and to what numbers they please. And likewise for the payment of them, to leavy what monies, in such sort, and by such wayes and means (and consequently upon the estates of whatsoever persons) they shall think fit and appoint; Which is utterly inconsistent with the Liberty and Propertie of the Subject, and his Majesties trust in protecting them. So that if the Major part of both Houses, shall think it necessary to put the rest of the Propositions into Bills; his Majesty leaves all the World to judge, how unsafe it would be for Him to consent thereunto. And if not, what a strange condition (after the passing of these foure Bills) his Majesty and all his Subjects would be cast into. And here his Majesty thinks it not unfit, to wish His two Houses to consider well the manner of their proceeding: That when his Majesty desires a personall Treaty with them for the settling of a peace; they in answer, propose the very subject matter of the most essentiall part thereof to be first granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to posterity. Wherefore his Majesty declares, That neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life his Majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, in case his 2 Houses shall

shall not afford him a personall Treaty, shall make him change his resolution, of not consenting to any Act, till the whole peace be concluded. Yet then He intends not onely to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him; but also to make good all other Concessions mentioned in his Message of the 16 of November last. Which He thought would have produced better effects, than what He findes in the Bills and propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a personall Treaty (so passionately is He affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his Majesty and all his Subjects) of which He will not at all despair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a well-grounded-peace.) However his Majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two Houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow-Subjects miseries.

*Given at Carisbrook-Castle in the Isle
of Wight, Decemb. 28. 1647.*

*For the Speaker of the Lords House pro
tempore, to be communicated to the
Lords and Commons assembled in
the Parliament of England at West-
minster, and the Commissioners of the
Parliament of Scotland.*

36. *His Majesties Message of August 10. 1648. With His Answer to the Votes for a Treaty at the Isle of Wight.**From Carisbrook. Castle.*

C. R.

IF the peace of My Dominions were not much dearer to Me, than any particuler interest whatsoever; I had too much reason to take notice of the severall Votes which passed against Me, and the sad condition I have been in now above these seven moneths, But since you My two Houses of Parliament have opened (as it seems to Me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I shall heartily apply My self therunto; and to that end, I will as clearly and shortly as I may, set you down those things which I conceive necessary to this blessed work, so that We together may remove all impediments, that may hinder a happy conclusion of this Treaty, which with all cheerfulness I do embrace.

And to this wished end, your selves have laid most excellent grounds; For what can I reasonably expect more, than to Treat with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, upon such Propositions as you have or shall present unto Me, and such as I shall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names of things which make them rightly known; And that without means to perform, no Proposition can take effect: And truly My present condition is such, that I can no more treat, than a blinde man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet fast tied together; wherefore My first necessary demand is,

That you will recall all such Votes and Orders, by which

which people are frighted from coming, writing, or speaking freely to Me.

Next, that such men of all professions, whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to Me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedom I was in when I was list at *Hampton-Court*. And indeed lesse cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made Me by your Votes; for how can I treat with Honour, so long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders against coming to speak, or write to Me? And am I honorably treated, so long as there is none about me (except a Barber who came now with the Commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me, or with Freedom, (untill I may call such unto Me of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult a work?) And for Safety (I speak not of my Person, having no apprehension on that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded peace, untill I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all My Dominions, and particularly of all those whose Interests are necessarily concerned in the peace of these Kingdoms? which leads Me naturally to the last necessary demand I shall make for the bringing of this Treaty to a happy end, which is;

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, doe invite the *Scots* to send some persons authorized by them to treat upon such propositions as they shall make; for certainly the publick and necessary Interesse they have in this great settlement is so clearly plain to all the World, that I believe no body will deny the necessity of their concurrence in this Treaty, in Order to a durable peace. Wherefore I will onely say, that as I am King of both Nations, so I will yeeld to none in either Kingdome for being truly and zealously affected for the good and honour of both: my resolution being never to be par-

tial for either, to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial than reall part of this Treaty, I shall not much insist upon it) I name *Newport* in this Isle, yet the fervent zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions, doth force Me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great losse of time it will be to treat so far from the body of My two Houses, when every small debate (of which doubtlesse there will be many) must be transmitted to *Westminster* before it be concluded : And really I think (though to some it may seem a Paradox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or neare *London*, then in this Isle, because so long as I am here, it will never be believed by many, that I am really so free; as before this Treaty begin I expect to be ; And so I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration: And thus I have not only fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have proposed to Me by your votes of the third of this moneth; but also given it all the furtherance that lies in Me, by demanding the necessary means, for the effectuall performance thereof; All which are so necessarily implied by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your ready compliance with Me herein: I have now no more to say, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Christians, honest Men, or good Patriots that ye will make all the expedition possible to begin this happy work, by hasting down your Commissioners fully authorized and well instructed, and by enabling Me (as I have shewed you) to treat; praying the God of peace so to bless our endeavours, that all My Dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well-grounded peace.

Charles R.

*For the Speaker of the Lords House
pro tempore, &c.*

His

*His Majesties Message of August 28. 1648. for some
of His Councell and others to attend Him at the Treas-
ury in the Isle of Wight.*

From Carisbrook-Castle.

MY Lord, and Master Speaker, I have received your Letter of the 25 of this moneth, with the Votes that you sent Me, which though they are not so full as I could have wished, for the perfecting of a Treaty; yet because I conceive by what you have done, that I am in some measure fit to begin one (such is my uncessant and earnest desire, to give a peace to these My now distracted Kingdoms, as I accept the Treaty;) and therefore desire that such five Lords and ten Commons, as My two Houses shall appoint, be speedily sent, fully authorized and instructed to treat with Me. not doubting, but what is now wanting, will at Our meeting upon debate be fully supplied, not onely to the furtherance of this Treaty, but also of the consummating of a safe and well-grounded peace.

So I rest, Your good Friend,
CHARLES R.

*Here inclosed is a List of the names of such persons
as I desire.*

*Gentlemen of My Bed-chamber, Duke Richmond,
Marquess Hartford, Earl Lindsey, Earl Southampton.
Grooms of My Bed-chamber, George Kirke. James Le-
viston, Henry Murry, Jo. Ashburnham, William Leg,
Thomas Davise, Barber. Pages of My back-stairs Hugh
Hin, Humphrey Rogers, William Levett. Rives Treas-
urer of My Robes. Querries, with 4 or 5 of My footmen,*
K 3 as

as they finde fittest to wait. Sir Edward Sydenham, Robert Terwit, Jo. Houlden, Mistress Wheeler, Landresse, with such Maids as she shall choose. Parsons, A Groom of the presence. Sir Fulke Grevel, Captain Titus, Captain Burrowes, Mr. Crellet, Hansted, Abraham Doulet, Firebrasse. *To wait as they did, or as I shall appoint them.* Bishop of London, Bishop of Sarum, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Hamond, Doctor Oldworth, Doctor Sanderfon, Doctor Turner, Doctor Heywood. *Lawyers,* Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Robert Holborn, M. Jeffery Palmer, Mr. Thomas Cooke, Mr. James Vaughan. *Clerks and Writers,* Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Philip Warwick, Nicholas Oudart, Charles Whittaker. *To make ready the house for Treaty.* Peter Newton, Clem. Kinsley.

I desire in order to one of your Votes, that you would send Me a free passe for Parsons, one of the Grooms of My presence Chamber to goe into Scotland, that you would immediately send him to Me, to receive the dispatch thither.

For the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, and William Lenthall, Speaker of House of Commons.

47. *His Majesties Message concerning the time of the Treaty, and for two Doctors of the Civill Law to attend his Majesty. Septemb. 7. 1648.*
Carisbrook-Castle.

My Lord and Mr. Speaker,

I Have received your Letter of the second of this month, containing the names of those who are to

His Majesties Messages for Peace. 135

treat with Me, and though they doe not come at the time appointed, I shall not wonder at first, judging it too short, in respect of my two Houses, not of My self, so that I did imagine it could not be kept, (as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew* to tell you by word of mouth) and therefore it shall be far from Me to take exceptions for their having elapsed the appointed time, for God forbid that either My two Houses or I should carp at circumstances, to give the least impediment to this Treaty, much lesse to hinder the happy finishing of it: I say this the rather, because I know not how it is possible (in this I shall wish to be deceived) that in forty dayes Treaty, the many distractions of these Kingdoms can be settled; and if so, it were more than strange, that time enough should not be given for the perfecting of this most great and good work, which as I will not believe can be stuck on by the two Houses, so I am sure it shall never be, by

Your good Friend,

Carisbrook 7 Sept.

1648.

Charls R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe in this Treaty there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for my Advocate *Rives* and *D. Duck*.

*For the Lord Hunsdon, Speaker of the
House of Peers pro tempore, and
William Lenthall Speaker of the
House of Commons.*

39. *His Majesties Message for four Bishops and two Doctors of Divinity to attend his Majesty, Novemb. 2. 1648. Newport.*

The names of the Bishops and Doctors desired by His Majesty to be sent to him, Novemb. 2. 1648. inclosed in a Letter from one of the Commissioners for the Parliament.

C. R.

THe Bishop of *Armath*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, the Bishop of *Rockester*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Fearne*, Dr. *Morley*.

40. *His Majesties Message of Septemb. 29. 1648. containing His Concessions. Newport.*

His Majesty did use many earnest endeavours for a personall Treaty, Which He hoped might have been obtained at *Westminster*, between Him and His two Houses of Parliament immediately; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commissioners, His Majesty did gladly and cheerfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit meanes to begin a Treaty for a peace, which might put an end to His own sad condition, and the miseries of His Kingdom: For an entrance whereunto, His Majestie hath already expressed His consent to the first Proposition: But finding you are limited by Instructions which you have no warrant to communicate unto Him; And having cause by your paper of the 20 of this present, to believe that you have no power to omit, or alter any thing, though He shall give you such reasons as may satisfie you so to doe, without transmitting the papers to the two Houses at a far distance, where

where His Majesties reasons, expressions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully represented, and from whence their answers cannot be returned without much waste of the time allotted for the Treaty here: And having lately received another paper concerning the Church, containing in it self many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (11 or 12 in number) of great length, and some of them very new, and never before presented to His Majesty; The due consideration whereof will take up much time, and require His Majesties presence with His two Houses before a full resolution can well be had in matters of so high consequence; to the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by Gods blessing) proceed more speedily and effectually to an happy conclusion; and that his two Houses of Parliament may at present have further security, and an earnest of future satisfaction; His Majesty upon consideration had of yours, makes these propositions following.

Concerning the Church.

His Majesty will consent that the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* be confirmed for three years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three years the Directory for the publick worship of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewise confirm for three years by Act of Parliament the form of Church Government which ye have presented to him, to be used for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, provided, that His Majesty, and those of His judgement, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same Government or Form or Worship, but
have

have free practice of their owne profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* in the mean time, (20 of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament, how the said Church Government and form of publick worship after the said time may be settled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. And how also Reformation of Religion may be settled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*. And the Articles of Christian Religion now delivered to Him may in like manner be then considered of and determined, and care taken for the ease of tender consciences.

And concerning the Bishops lands and revenues, his Majesty considering that during these troublesome times divers of His Subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great sums of moneys upon security and engagement of those Lands; his Majesty for their satisfaction, will consent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legall estates for lives or for years (at their choice) not exceeding 99 years shall be made of those lands towards the satisfaction of the said Purchasers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or some other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive satisfaction.

And in case such Lease shall not satisfie, his Majesty will propound and consent to some other way for their further satisfaction.

Provided that the propriety and inheritance of those Lands may still remaine and continue to the Church and Church-men respectively, according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof: And the rent that shall be reserved to be for their maintenance.

His Majesty will give His Royall assent for the better observation of the Lords day; For suppressing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the worship of God, and for the better advancement of the preaching of Gods holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom. And to an Act against enjoying pluralities of Benefices by Spirituall persons, and Non-residency. And to an Act for regulating and reforming both Universities, and the Colleges of *Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton.*

His Majesty will consent to an Act for the better discovery and speedy conviction of Popish Recusants, as is desired in your propositions; And also to an Act for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

As also to an Act for the true levying of the penalties against Papists, to be levied and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, and as is proposed on His Majesties behalf.

And also to an Act to prevent the practices of Papists against the State. And for putting the Laws in execution. And for a stricter course to prevent hearing and saying of Masse.

But, as to the Covenant, His Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, that He can either signe or swear it, or consent to impose it on the consciences of others. Nor doth conceive it proper or usefull at this time to be insisted on.

Touching the *Militia*, His Maiestie conceives that your Proposition demands a far larger power over the persons and estates of His Subjects, than hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm: yet considering the present distractions require more, and trusting in His two Houses of Parliament that they will make no further use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers

pers settled, than shall be agreeable to the legall exercise thereof in times past, or just necessity shall require, His Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament,

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now assembled, or hereafter to be assembled, or such as they shall appoint during the space of ten years, shall arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be armed, trained, or disciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raised both for Sea and Land service; and shall from time to time during the space of ten years raise, levy, arm, train and discipline, or cause to be raised, levied, armed, trained and disciplined any other forces for Land and Sea service in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and places aforesaid, as in their judgments they shall from time to time during the said space of ten years think fit to appoint, and that neither the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any other but such as shall act by the authority, or approbation of the said Lords and Commons, shall during the said space of ten years exercise any of the powers aforesaid.

That monies be raised and levied for the maintenance and use the said Forces for Land service, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea service, in such sort, and by such wayes and means as the said Lords and Commons shall from time to time during the said space of ten years think fit and appoint, and not otherwise.

That all the said Forces both for Land and Sea service so raised or levied, or to be raised or levied; and also the Admiralty and Navy shall from time to time during the said space of ten years be employed, managed ordered and disposed by the Lords and Commons in such sort,

fort; and by such wayes and means as they shall think fit and appoint, and not otherwise.

And the said Lords and Commons, or such as they shall appoint, during the said space of ten years shall have power

TO suppress all Forces raised, or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords & Commons; to the disturbance of the publick peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To suppress any Forraign Forces who shall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominions of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Towne of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

And after the expiration of the said ten years, neither the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any person or persons by colour or pretence of any Commission, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the King, his Heirs or Successours, or any of them, shall without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, raise, arm, train, discipline, imploy order, manage, disband, or dispose any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*. Nor exercise any of the said powers or authorities herein before mentioned, and expressed to be during the space of ten years in the said Lords and Commons : Nor doe any Act, or any thing concerning the execution of the said powers or authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons first had and obtained.

And with the same Proviso's for saving the ordinary legall power of Officers of justice, not being Milita-
ry

ry Officers, as is set down in your propositions.

And with a Declaration, That if any persons shall be gathered and assembled together, in a warlike manner, or otherwise, to the number of thirty persons, and shall not forthwith disperse themselves, being required thereto by the said Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them, especially authorized for that purpose; then such person or persons not so dispersing themselves, shall be guilty, and incur the pains of high Treason, being first declared guilty of such offence, by the said Lords and Commons: any Commission under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary, notwithstanding. And he or they that shall so offend herein to be incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.

And likewise that it be provided that the City of London shall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, &c. in raising and employing the Forces of that City, in such sort as is mentioned in the said proposition.

With these proviso's following to be inserted in the said Act.

I. **T**HAT none be compelled to serve in the war against their wills, but in case of coming in of strange enemies into this Kingdom.

And that the powers above mentioned, as concerning the Land Forces, other than for keeping up and maintenance of Ports, and Garrisons, and the keeping up, maintaining, and pay of this present Army, so long as it shall be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament, be exercised to no other purposes than for the suppressing of Forces raised or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords and Commons as aforesaid, or for suppressing of any Forrain Forces which shall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, Dominions or places aforesaid.

And

And that the monyes be raised by generall and equal Taxations, saving that Tonnage and Poundage, and such Imposts as have been applyed to the Navy, be raised as hath been usall.

And that all Patents, Commissions, and other Acts concerning the premises be made and acted in his Majesties name by Warrant, signified by the Lords and Commons, or such others as they shall authorise for that purpose.

If it shall be made satisfactory to His two Houses to have the Militia, and powers thereupon depending. during the whole time of his Majesties reign, rather than for the space of ten years, His Majesty gives them the election.

Touching Ireland, His Majesty having in the two preceding propositions given His consent concerning the Church, and the *Militia* there in all things, as in *England*: As to all other matters relating to the Kingdom, after advice with his two Houses, he will leave it to their determination, and give his consent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expressed.

Touching publick debts, his Majesty will give His consent to such an Act, for raising of monies by generall and equal Taxations, for the payment and satisfying the Arrears of the Army, publick debts and engagements of the Kingdom, as shall be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament, and shall be audited and ascertained by them, or such persons as they shall appoint, within the space of twelve moneths, after the passing of an Act for the same.

His Majesty will consent to an Act, that during the said space of ten years the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper, Commissioners of the Great Seal, or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and

and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nominated by both Houses of the Parliament of *England* to continue *quam diu se bene gesserint*: And in the intervals of Parliament, by such others as they shall authorize for that purpose.

His Majesty will consent that the *Militia* of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, during the space of ten years, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in the Common-Council assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be employed and directed from time to time, during the said space of ten years, in such manner as shall be agreed upon, and appointed by both Houses of Parliament; And that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Officers of the said City shall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the said City or Liberties thereof, for Military service, without their own free consent.

That an Act be passed for granting and confirming the Charters, Customes, Liberties, and Franchises of the City of *London*, notwithstanding any *Non user*, *Misuser* or *Abuser*.

And that during the said ten years, the Tower of *London* may be in the government of the City of *London*, and the Chief Officer and Governour from time to time during the said space to be nominated, and removeable by the Common council, as are desired in your propositions.

His Majesty having thus far expressed his consent for the present satisfaction and security of His two Houses of Parliament, and those that have adhered unto them, touching your four first propositions, and other the particulars before specified: As to all the rest of your propositions delivered to him at *Hampton*

Court

Court, (not referring to those heads) and to that of the Court of Wards since delivered; as also to the remaining Propositions concerning *Ireland*; His Majesty desires onely when he shall come to *Westminster* Personally to advise with His two Houses, and to deliver His opinion, and the reasons of it; which being done, He will leave the whole matter of those remaining Propositions to the determination of His two Houses; which shall prevaile with Him for His consent accordingly.

And His Majesty doth (for His own particular) onely propose that He may have Liberty to repair forthwith to *Westminster*, and be restored to a condition of absolute freedome and safety, (a thing which He shall never deny to any of His Subjects;) and to the possession of His Lands and Revenues; and that an Act of Oblivion, and Indemnity may passe, to extend to all persons, for all matters relating to the late unhappy differences: which being agreed by His two Houses of Parliament, His Majesty will be ready to make these His Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Lawes by His Royall assent.

1. *His Majesties Declaration to all His People Jan. 18. 1647. from Carisbrook Castle, after the Votes of No Adresse.*

AM I thus laid aside, and must I not speak for My self? No! I will speak, and that to all My people, (which I would have rather done, by the way of My two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick order, neither to make addressees to, or receive Messages from me,) and who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt Me, and My two Houses? I know none else; for I am sure, you it is, who will enjoy the happinesse, or feel the misery, of
L good

good or ill Government; and we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you; without having a regard (at least in the first place) to particular interests: And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am, and have been in, this long time, and whether my actions have more tended to the publick, or My own particular good; for whosoever will look upon Me barely as I am a Man, without that liberty (which the meanest of My Subjects enjoys) of going whether, and conversing with whom I will: as a Husband and Father, without the comfort of My Wife and children; or lastly, as a King, without the least shew of authority or power, to protect My distressed Subjects; must conclude Me, not onely void of all naturall Affection, but also to want common understanding; if I should not most cheerfully embrace the readiest way, to the settlement of these distracted Kingdoms: As also on the other side, do but consider the form and draught of the Bills lately presented unto Mee, and as they are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the same spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all my sincere and constant endeavours for peace, hath had a powerfull influence on his Message; for though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seem to desire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding my conscience and honour, and betraying the trust reposed in me, by abandoning my people to the Arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houses for ever, for the levying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without distinction of quality, or limitation for money taxes: And if I could have passed them in tearmes; how unheard of a condition were it for a Treaty, to grant before hand the most considerable part of the Subject matter? How ineffectuall were that debate like to

prove

prove, wherein the most potent party had nothing of moment left to aske, and the other nothing more to give? So consequently, how hopelesse of mutual compli-
ance? Without which, a settlement is impos-
sible: Besides, if after my concessions, the two Hou-
ses should insist on those things, from which I cannot
depart, how desperate would the condition of these
Kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved
remedy should become ineffectuall? Being therefore
fully resolved that I could neither in conscience, ho-
nour, or prudence, passe those four Bills; I only
endeavour'd to make the Reasons and Justice of my
Denyall appear to all the World, as they doe to me,
intending to give as little dis-satisfaction to the two
Houses of Parliament, (without betraying my own
cause) as the matter would beare: I was desirous to
give my answer, of the 28 of December last, to the
Commissioners sealed, (as I had done others hereto-
fore, and sometimes at the desire of the Commis-
sioners) cheifly, because when my Messages or Answers
were publickly known, before they were read in the
Houses; prejudiciall interpretations were forced on
them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my
meaning. For example, my answer from *Hampton-
Court*, was accused of dividing the two Nations, be-
cause I promised to give satisfaction to the *Scots*, in
all things concerning that Kingdome: And this last
suffers in a contrary sense, by making me intend to
interest *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdom, (then
which nothing was, nor is, further from my thoughts)
because I took Notice of the *Scots* Commissioners
protesting against the Bills and propositions, as con-
trary to the interests and engagements of the two
Kingdoms: indeed, if I had not mentioned their
dissent; an Objection, not without some probability,
might have been made against me, both in respect

the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the *Militia*, and in severall other Propositions; and my silence might; with some justice, have seemed to approve of it: But the Commissioners refusing to receive my answer sealed, I (upon the engagement of their, and the Governours Honour, that no other use should be made, or notice taken of it, then as if it had not bin seen) read and delivered it open unto them, Whereupon, what hath since passed, either by the Governour, in discharging most of my servants, redoubling the Guards, and restraining me of my former Liberty, (and all this, as himselfe confest, meerly out of His own dislike of my answer, notwithstanding His beforefaid engagment) or afterwards, by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeale to God and the World, whether my said Answer deserved the reply of such proceedings: besides the unlawfulnessse for Subjects to imprison their King: That, by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not without hope, but that the same God, wil, in due time, convert these afflictions into my advantage: in the mean time I am confident to bear these crosses with patience and equality of mind: but by what meanes or occasion I am come to this Relapse in my affaires, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to my two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdom, all, but what is much more dear to me than my Life, my Conscience and Honour, desiring nothing more than to performe it, in the most proper and naturall way, A Personall Treatie. But that which makes me most at a losse, is, the remembring my signall compliance with the Armie, and their interests; and of what importance my compliance was to them, and their often repeated

Professions

Professions and Ingagements, for my just Rights, in generall, at *Newmarket* and *S Albans*; and their particular explanation of those generals, by their Voted and Re-voted Proposals; which I had reason to understand should be the uttermost extremitie would be expected from me, and that, in somethings therein, I should be eased; (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefeſt Officers in the Army, if what I have said be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, and my professions to them, I challenge them and the whole World to produce the least colour of Reason. And now I would know, what is it that is desired: Is it Peace? I have shewed the way (being both willing, and desirous to performe my part in it) which is, a just compliance with all chief interests: Is it Plenty and Happinesse? they are the inseparable effects of peace: Is it security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the *Militia* for my time: Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give: Is it the right administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament: Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurred therewith: Is it the arrears of the Army? Vpon a settlement, they will certainly be paid with much ease; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

Thus all the world cannot but see my reall and unwearied endeavours for peace, the which (by the Grace of God) I shall never repent me of, nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future sufferings; but if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would or might do: What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be Reason, (at least,

none will declare themselves so unreasonable, as to confesse it) and it can lesse be, impertinent or unreasonable discourses; for thereby, peradventure I might more justifie this my Restraint, then the Causers themselves can do; so that, of all wonders yet this is the greatest to me: but it may be easily gathered how those men intend to govern, who have used me thus: and if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for my selfe, but much lament the future miseries of my People; the which I shall still pray to God to avert; what ever becomes of Me.

C. R.

2. *His Majesties Declaration, concerning the Treaty, and His dislike of the Armies proceedings, delivered by His Majesty to one of His Servants at His departure from the Isle of Wight, commanded to be published for satisfaction of all His Subjects. Anno 1648.*

When large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performance; then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects: and when a period is put to a worke of great concernment, all mens ears do (as it were) hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations. Hath not this distracted Nation groaned a long time under the burden of Tyranny and oppression? and hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty? And was it not requisite to endeavour the stopping of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this Nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate those distractions then by a *personall Treaty*, being agreed upon by My

My two Houses of Parliament, and condescend to by Me? And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best physick, had not the operation been hindred by the interposition of this imperious Army who were so audacious as to stile me in their unparallel'd Remonstrance, *their capitall enemy*; but let the World judge, whether mine indeavours have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty; and whether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to ask, and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that pursue their own ambitious ends more than the welfare of a miserable Land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor distressed people much revived with the hopes of a happinesse from this Treaty? and how suddenly are they frustrated in their expectations! Have not I formerly been condemned for yeelding too little to My two Houses of Parliament; and shall I now be condemned for yeelding too much? Have I not formerly been imprisoned for making war, and shall I now be condemned for making peace? Have I not formerly ruled like a KING, and shall I now be ruled like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the society of my dear Wife and Children in peace and quietnesse; and shall I now neither enjoy them, nor peace? Have not My Subjects formerly obeyed Me, and shall I now be obedient to My Subjects? Have I not been condemned for Evill Counsellors, and shall I now be condemned for having no Counsell but God? These are unutterable miseries, that the more I endeavour for peace, the lesse My endeavours are respected: and how shall I know hereafter what to grant, when your selves know not what to ask? I refer it to your consciences, whether I have not satisfied your desires in every particular since this Treaty; if you finde I have not, then let Me bear the burden of the fault: but if I have given you ample satisfacti-

on (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate Me from the fury of those whose thoughts are fill'd with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.

I must further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obstruct the long-hoped-for peace of this Nation, than the illegall proceedings of them that presume from Servants to become Masters, and labour to bring in Democracy, and to abolish Monarchy. Needs must the totall alteration of fundamentals be, not onely destructive to others, but in conclusion to themselves: for they that endeavour to rule by the sword, shall at last fall by it; for faction is the Mother of Ruine: and it is the humour of those who are of this Weathercock-like disposition to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that please them but onely *pro tempore*, for the too much variety doth but confound the senses, and makes them still hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the best cure for Faction; for it will at length (like a spreading leprosie) infect the whole body of the Kingdom, and make it so odious, that at last they will hate themselves for love of that, and, like the Fish, for love of the bait, be catch'd with the hook.

I once more declare to all My loving Subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be My last, that I have earnestly laboured for peace, and that My thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any sinister ends, and there was nothing left undone by Me that My conscience would permit Me to do. And I call God to witnesse that I do firmly conceive that the interposition of the Army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that peace which began againe to shine in this Land. And let the
World

World judge whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending for Laws and Liberties, to subvert both. Such actions as these must produce strange consequences, and set open the flood-gates of ruin to overflow this Kingdom in a moment. Had this Treaty been onely Mine own seeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have stopt the course of it; but I being importun'd by My two Houses, and they by most part of the Kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in their desires, for the performance of so commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of My people are opened so much that they plainly discover who are the underminers of this Treaty.

For mine own part, I here protest before the face of Heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict Me not so much as my peoples sufferings: for, I know what to trust to already, and they know not: God comfort both them and Me, and proportion our patience to our sufferings!

And when the malice of mine Enemies is spun out to the smallest thred, let them know, that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they are active to advance My sufferings: and Mine own soul tels Me, that the time will come, when the very clouds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of those that barricado themselves against the proceedings of peace: for, if God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace-makers, needs must the peace-breakers draw down curses upon their heads.

I thank My God I have armed My self against their fury: and now let the arrows of their envy flie at Me, I have a brest to receive them, and a heart possess'd with patience to sustain them: for God is My Rock and my shield

shield ; therefore I will not fear what man can do unto Me. I will expect the worst, and if any thing happen beyond My expectation, I will give God the Glory: for vain is the help of man.



Letters written by his M A J E S T Y to severall Persons since the beginning of this Parliament, heretofore published at severall times, and now collected into one body.

Together with those intercepted Letters published by the Parliament, before which is prefixed his Majesties Letter to Secretary *Nicholas* concerning the Publishing of them; and part of one of his Majesties Declarations concerning the same.

1. *To the House of Peers about the reprieving of the Earl of Strafford, sent by the Prince, May 11. 1641. from White-hall.*

My Lords,

I Did yesterday satisfie the justice of the Kingdom by passing the Bill of attainer against the Earl of *Strafford*; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King as Justice, I desire at this time in some measure to shew, that, likewise by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfill the naturall course of his life in a close imprisonment; yet so, that if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer directly, or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick businesse; especially with me, either by Message, or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further proceffe. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of My people, will be an unspeakable contentment to Me.

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endeavour it

It the more, have chosen him to carry it, that of all your House is most dear unto Me. So I desire that by a conference, you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment: likewise assuring you, that the exercise of mercy is no more pleasing to Me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent for My sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law, in so important a case.

I will not say that your complying with Me, in this My intended mercy, shall make Me more willing, but certainly it will make Me more cheerfull in granting your just grievances. But if no lesse than his life can satisfie My people, I must say *fiat justitia*. Thus againe recommending the consideration of My intentions to you, I rest.

Whitehall May 11.

1641.

*Your unalterable and
affectionate friend,
Charles R.*

If he must dye, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

2. To the Lord Keeper, about Mr. Attourney Generall,
March 4. 1641. From Roylton.

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Councillour, We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certifie that we did the thirdd of Ianuary last, deliver to our Attourney certain Articles of Accusation ingrossed in paper, a copy whereof We have sent here enclosed; and did then command him in Our Name, to acquaint Our House of Peers, that divers great and treasonable designs and practises against Vs and the State had come to Our knowledge for which We commanded him, in Our Name to accuse the six persons in the said paper mentioned of High Treason, and other

other high misdemeanours by delivering the paper to Our said House, and to desire to have it read, and further, to desire in Our Name, that a select Committee of Lords might be appointed to take the examinations of such Witnesses as We would produce, and as formerly hath been done in cases of like nature, according to the justice of the House, and the Committee to be under a command of Secrecy as formerly, and further in our name to ask liberty, to adde and alter if there should be cause: We do further declare that Our said Attorney, did not advise or contrive the said Articles, nor had any thing to do with, or in advising any breach of privilege that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to Our commands, We conceive he was bound by oath, and the duty of his place, and by the trust by Vs reposed in him so to do: And had he refused to obey Vs herein, We would have questioned him for breach of Oath, Duty, and Trust.

But now having declared, that We find cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the Persons accused, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same.

Given at Royston March 4. 1641.

*3. To the Lord Keeper, about the Lord Admirall,
March 21. 1642. From York.*

Right trusty and well beloved Counsellour, We greet you well, we wonder both at the forme and matter of that inclosed paper, ye sent Vs (in the name of both Houses of Parliament, in yours of the 28 of March) it being neither by way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the matter We believe

it is the first time that the Houses of Parliament have taken upon them the nomination, or recommendation of the chief Sea-commander; but it adds to the wonder, that Sir *John Pennington*, being already appointed by Vs for that service, upon the recommendation of our Admirall (which is so well known, that none can be ignorant of it) and no fault so much as alleged against him, another should be recommended to Vs: Therefore Our resolution upon this point is, that We will not alter him, whom we have already appointed to command this years Fleet, whose every way sufficiency is so universally known, the which We are confident Our Admirall (if there shall be occasion) will make most evident, (against whose testimony We suppose Our Parliament will not except.) And though there were yet none appointed, or the said Sir *John* (through some accident) not able to perform the service yet the men of that profession are so well known to Vs (besides many other reasons) that (Our Admirall excepted because of his place) recommendations of that kind would not be acceptable to Vs.

Given at Our Court at York, March 31. 1642.

4. *To the Mayor of Hull Aprill 25. 1645.*

From York.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well, Whereas We have been long sensible of the just complaints and great burdens of Our Subjects in these Northern parts, by occasion of the Garrison in Our Town of *Hull*; And whereas We were upon Friday the 22 of this Moneth Petitioned by divers of the Gentry, and others, inhabitants of this County, that the munition at *Hull* might remain in the Magazine there, for the Security of Our person, and of all these Northern parts, their fear being much grounded

grounded upon the Parliaments relations of Forraign Invasions: Vpon which, the more to expresse Our care of Our peoples safety, We did Our selve go in person to that Our Town, that upon Our own view, We might consult what proportion of it might be fitly removed upon any pressing occasion, having a respect to the promised supply for *Scotland*, the necessary use of arms for *Ireland*, as well as for the safeguard and satisfaction of these Northern parts. But much contrary to Our expectation, and the duty and allegiance of Our Subjects. we found the Gates of that Our Town shut, and the Bridges drawn up against Vs: And though We come in a peaceable way, reposing the greatest confidence in the love and loyalty of Our people, by offering (as We did) to put Our own person, and Our two Sons, but with twenty Horse, into that Town, there being in it a Garrison of about eight hundred Souldiers; yet we were not only denied entrance, but in a warlike manner opposed by Sir *Iohn Horham*, the armed men being placed in all the Ports, and about all the Wals of the Town, alleaging (though falsely) for his excuse, the Command of the Parliament, and being pressed by Vs to shew such an Order in writing, He could not do it; for We were ever very confident that there was never any publick order of theirs, that could so much as imply a denyall to Our admission; We knowing well enough, that he was entrusted by them for a guard and security of that place against Forraign Enemies, or those at home who are distressed in Religion, and not against his Naturall Sovereign; which hostile Opposition and actuall leavying of War against Our person, being by the Statute of 25. Ed. 3. Enacted High treason: which statute considered, and that for the avoyding of all jealousies, as we have said, We were content to have been admitted with so very small a number in Our Company, We

were thereupon constrained to Proclaim the said Sir *John Hotham*, and all those that should adhere to, or assist him, Traitors. Of all which abovesaid passages, We have acquainted Our Parliament, demanding justice to be done upon him, that they might thereby have opportunity to vindicate the imputation laid on them by *S John Hotham*, and We the easier way to chastise, according to the Law, so high a Treason. And lest a misunderstanding of Our intentions, or of the Law may misguide any of Our loyall and wel affected Subjects, the Inhabitants, Captains, Officers, or Souldiers in that Town, we have thought fit to commend to your consideration the aforesaid Statute, with that of the eleventh of *Henry the seventh*.
chap. 1.

Wherein it is declared, by the unanimous assent of Parliament, That the Subjects of this Realm are bound by the duty of Allegiance, to serve the King, for the time being, for the defence of His person and the Land against any Rebellion, Might, or Power, raised against Him, and with his Majesty to enter or abide in service, in battel, if cause so require. And it was therefore Enacted, That from thenceforth no person whatsoever that shall attend upon the King or be in place, by His command, within or without the Land, that for the same deed and true service of Allegiance, he and they be no wayes attaint or convict of high Treason, or of other offences for that cause, by any processe of Law, whereby he or any of them shall loose or forfeit Lives, Lands, Tenements, Goods, or any thing, but be for that deed and service utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble, or losse: And if any Act or Acts, of other proces of Law thereupon for the same happen to be made contrary to this Ordinnce, that then that Act or Acts, or other processe of the Law whatsoever they shall be, stand and be utterly void.

All which, together with the Copies of Our Message and Petition (which we send here inclosed) We require you to publish to the Inhabitants, and all such Commanders and Souldiers as will hear them: That knowing both the perill of the Law on the one side, and the security of such as shal adhere unto Vs on the other, they be not misled (through ignorance) to decline their allegiance: And that the Souldiers may lay down their arms, and admit Our entrance in a peaceable way. In so doing you shall both discharge your duties, and those that shall have need, be assured to find (upon such their submission) Our ready mercy and pardon. And we do likewise require and charge all you, the Inhabitants as well Souldiers as others upon your allegiance, that you permit not any part of Our Magazine or Munition to be removed or transported out of that Town under any pretence of Order or power whatsoever, without our Royall assent in writing under Our hand. Assuring you, that it will be much more pleasing to Vs to have occasion administred by the fidelity of the Inhabitants to enlarge those graces and immunities granted to that Town by Our Predecessors, than to have any occasion to question your Charter.

*Given at Our Court at York, the twenty fifth of April
1642.*

*5. To the Hight Sheriff of Yorke-shire, May 5. 1642.
From York.*

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas We understand, that Sir John Hotham takes upon him (without any legall authority or power) to issue Warrants to Constables, and other Our Officers, to raise divers of Our Trained Bands of this Our Countrey, and requires them to march with their

their arms, and to come into Our Town of *Hull*, where he hath disarmed divers of them, keeps their arms, and discharges the men. And whereas We are credibly informed, that divers persons who were lately Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers of the Trained Bands of this Our County, intend shortly to summon, and endeavour to muster the forces of this Our County; Forasmuch as by the Law of the Land, none of Our Trained Bands are to be raised or mustered, upon any pretence or authority whatsoever, but by special warrant under Our own hand, or by a legall Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County, or by Warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenants of the County, appointed and authorized by Commission under Our Great Seal; And whereas at present there is no Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant legally authorized to command the forces and Trained Bands of this Our County of *York*, and the Commissions, command, and power of all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers of Our Trained Bands, (which were derived from the Commission and power of the Lord Lieutenant onely) are now actually void, and of no force and authority; Our will and command therefore is, that you forthwith issue Warrants under your hand, to all the late Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Captains, and Officers, who (whiles the Lord Lieutenants Commission was in force) had the command of the Trained Bands of this Our County, and also to all High and petty Constables, and other Our Officers in this Our County, whom it may concern, charging and commanding them, and every of them, in Our Name, and upon their allegiance, and as they tender the peace of this Our Kingdom, not to muster, levy, or raise, or to summon, or warn (upon any pretence or directions whatsoever) any of our Trained Bands

to rise, muster, or march, without expresse warrant under Our hand, or warrant from you Our Sheriffe grounded upon a particular writ to that purpose; which We also command you, not to put in execution without Our privy and allowance, whiles we shall reside in this Our County. And in case any of Our Trained Bands shall rise, or gather together, contrary to this Our command, Then We will and command you to charge and require them, to dissolve and retire to their dwellings. And if upon summons from you, they shall not lay down their arms, and depart to their dwelling; We will and command you upon your allegiance, and as you tender the peace and quiet of this Our Kingdom, to raise the power of the County, and suppress them by force, as the Law hath directed and given you power to do. And to the end that this Our expresse command may be notified to all Our good Subjects in this Our County, so as none may pretend hereafter to have been mis-led through ignorance : We require you to cause these Our Letters to be forthwith read, and published openly in all Churches and Parishes in this Our County. Herein you may not fail, as you tender the safety and honour of Our person, the good and peace of this our Kingdom, and will answer the contrary to your perill. For which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at Our Court at York, May 5, &c.

6. *To the Gentry of Yorkshire, May 16. 1642.*
From York.

WEE have with great contentment considered your dutifull and affectionate Answer to Our proposition concerning the unsufferable affront which We received at *Hull*; We have not been deceived in that confidence We had in your affection, where-
 fore

fore We desire you to assure the rest of your Countrey-men, who through negligence, were omitted to be summoned : that We shall never abuse your love by any power wherewith God shall enable Vs to the least violation of the least of your liberties or the diminution of those immunities which we have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of most (if not all) Our Predecessours ; being resolved with a constant and firm resolution to have the Law of this Land duly observed, and shall endeavour onely so to preserve Our just Royall Rights, as may enable Vs to protect Our Kingdom and people, according to the ancient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the trust which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crown, being sufficiently warned by the late affront at *Hull*, not to transfer the same out of Our power ; concerning which affront We will take some time to advise which way We may usefully imploy your affections : In the mean time We shall take it well from all such as shall personally attend Vs, so followed and provided, as they shall think fit for the better safety of Our person, because We know not what sudden violence, or affront may be offered unto Vs, having lately received such an actuall testimony of rebellious intentions as Sir *John Hotham* hath expressed at *Hull* : being thus secured by your affections and assistance ; We promise you Our protection against any contrary power whatsoever. And that you shall not be molested for your humble and modest petition, as of late you have been threatned.

Given at Our Court at York, May 16. 1642.

7. *To the Privy Councell of Scotland, May 20. 1648.*
From York.

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousins and Counsellors, We greet you well. Although We have already written Our minde to you Our Council; yet upon Our second thoughts, arising especially from some bad rumours, coming to our knowledge, We finde it necessary both for Our Self, and for the good of that Our Kingdom, to declare and make known both Our disposition and desires more fully.

We know and feel the charge to be great, and the place to be high, wherein God (the King of Kings) hath placed Vs, and that we must render an account of all our actions to Him, who in His own time shall judge all men without exception of persons. We have no other intentions, but by Our government, to honour Him by whom Kings reign, and to procure the good of Our people; and for this end to preserve the right and authority wherewith God hath vested Vs, and which by His providence hath been derived to Vs, by many Princely Progenitors: in the which glory that Our ancient Kingdom, and native Realm of Scotland doth participate.

We did not require of you that you should sit as Judges upon the affairs of another Kingdom; We onely intended to have both Our sufferings and Our actions, (as they are exprest in many papers past betwixt Vs and Our Parliament) made throughly known to you; that since We have none besides you whom We can acquaint with Our proceedings, you may clearly see that We have been so far from wronging Our Parliament of *England*, that We have given them all satisfaction, even above that which they themselves in the beginning did expresse, or almost desire: And

as much as could well consist with the safety of Our person and honour. We will not put you in minde of your natural affection towards Vs, which We know will rather be kindled than extinguished by Our distresse; Nor of your Covenant, wherein you are zealous of Our Greatnesse and Authority, and which standeth in that sense wherein you did swear and subscribe it; Nor of the many good Laws made in Our late Parliament (of which We hope the present and the succeeding Generations shall reap the fruits, when We are dead and gone;) Nor of the many promises made unto Vs, upon which We were willing to yeeld to such things for settling the government of that our Kingdom, in our personal absence, which neither could We have granted, nor would you have craved, (as your selves did professe) had Our greater affairs permitted Our residence amongst you. And whereas we are most unjustly blamed and calumniated, 1. That We are popishly affected, 2. That We are the cause of the bloodshed in *Ireland*, 3. That We intend to bring in Forraign Forces, We here do protest and declare in presence of him who knows the most secret of our intentions and actions, that We are no wayes conscious to Our Self of the guiltinesse of any of the said aspersions; And do take him to witnesse Our innocency therein, who onely hath the privilege to be the searcher of hearts. And if any after so full and plain profession shall distrust this Our free Declaration, We attest God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and no wayes deserved on Our part.

Given at Our Court at York, May 20. 1642.

8. *To the Lord Willoughby of Parham, June 4. 1642.
From York.*

C. R.

Right trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well; Whereas We understand, that you have begun to assemble, train, and muster the Trained Bands of Our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament, whereto we have not given Our consent; which is not onely contrary to Law, but to Our command & pleasure, signified by Our Proclamation sent to the High Sheriffe of that Our County: Wherefore, that you may not hereafter plead ignorance of such Our prohibition; We do by these Our Letters, command and charge you, upon your allegiance, to desist and forbear to raise, muster, train, exercise, or assemble together any part of the Trained Bands of Our County, either by your self, or by any others imployed under you, or by warrant from you. And because you may for what you have already done, concerning the *Militia* of that Our County, plead that you had not so particular a Command, We shall passe by what you have already done therein, so as presently upon your receipt hereof, you shall desist and give over meddling any further with any thing belonging to the *Militia* of that Our County; but if you shall not presently desist, and forbear meddling therewith, We are resolved to call you to a strict account for your disobedience therein, after so many particular and legall commands given you, upon your Allegiance to the contrary, and shall esteem and proceed against you as a disturber of the peace of Our Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at York, June 4. 1642.

To Our right trusty and well beloved the Lord Willoughby of Parham.

2. To the Commissioners of Array in Leicestershire, June
12. 1642.

C. R.

Right trusty and right well beloved Cousins, and right trusty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared by the Votes of both Houses of Parliament the fifteenth of March last, that the Kingdom hath of late, and still is, in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a popish discontented party at home; that there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting Our Subjects to a posture of defence, for the safeguard both of Our Person and people: and that sithence divers inhabitants of divers Counties have addressed their Petitions to that purpose: And whereas a small number of both Houses (after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full House, and without Our Royall assent or opinion of the Judges concerning the legality hereof) have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in execution the power of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and to dispossesse many of Our ancient Nobility of the command and trust reposed in them by Vs, and have nominated divers others, who have no interest in, nor live near to some of the Counties to which they are nominated for the Lieutenancy, whereby they cannot be properly serviceable to the Counties wherewith they are intrusted, nor Our people receive that content and security which We desire they should; To submit to the execution of which power by the way of Ordinance, without it were reduced into a Law by Act of Parliament, established by our Royall assent, were to introduce and expose Our Subjects to a meer Arbitrary Government, which by Gods grace We shall never permit.

We therefore considering that by the Laws of the Realm it belongeth solely to Vs, to order and govern

vern the *Militia* of the Kingdom, have thereupon by Our Proclamation of the 27 of May last, prohibited all manner of persons whatsoever upon their Allegiance, to Muster, Levy, or Summon, upon any Warrant, Order, or Ordinance from one or both Houses of Parliament, whereunto we have not, or shall not give Our expresse consent, any of the Trained Bands, or other Officers, without expresse Warrant under Our hands, or Warrant from Our Sheriff of the County, grounded on a particular Writ to that purpose under Our Great Seal. And considering that in antient time the *Militia* of the Kingdom was ever disposed of by Commissions of Array, and that by a particular Statute upon Record in the Tower, made in the fifth year of *Henry* the fourth, by full consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons, and at their sute, and by the advice and opinion of the Judges then had, such Commissions were mitigated in respect of some clauses perillous to the Commissioners; and approved of for the time to come: And that by the subsequent Records it appeareth, that all Our Royall Predecessors have continually exercised that power by such Commissions, till of late time they have been discontinued by the grants of particular Commissions of Lieutenancy; little differing in substance from the said Commissions of Array, against which it seems the Houses have taken some exception. And though We are no way satisfied of the illegallity of them, Our Councell being never heard in the defence thereof, yet being willing to avoid all exception, at present, We have thought fit to refer it, to that antient legall way of disposing the power of the *Militia*, by such Commissions of Array, for defence of Vs, Our Kingdom and our Countrey: Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array and Train Our people, and to apportion and asseesse such persons as
have

have estates, and are not able to bear arms, to find arms for other men, in a reasonable and moderate proportion; and to conduct them so arraid, as well to the Coasts as other places for the opposition and destruction of Our Enemies in case of danger, as to your discretions, or any three or more of you shall seem meet. Whereof you *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, and in your absence *William* Earl of *Devon*, or *Henry Hastings* Esquire, to be one: and being both confident in a great measure of the loyal affections of Our people, and very tender to bring any unnecessary burthen or charge on them, by augmenting the number of the Trained Bands, We do for the present only require that you forthwith cause to be Mustred and Trained all the ancient Trained Bands and freehold Bands of the County, carefully seeing, that they be supplied with able and sufficient persons, and completely armed; unlesse you finde that there be just cause, and that it shall be with the good liking of the inhabitants for their own better security to make any increase of their numbers; and over such Bands to appoint and set such Colonels, Captaines, and Officers, as you shall think most fit for the discharge of that service, being such persons as have considerable interest in the County, and not strangers. And in case of any opposition, you are to raise the power of the County to suppress it, and to commit all such persons as shall be found Rebellicious herein, into the custody of Our Sheriff; whose care and assistance We especially require. And that he shall from time to time issue forth such Warrants for the assembling of Our people at such times and places as by you shall be agreed on; according to the trust reposed in him by Our said Commission. And We have Authorized you Our Commissioners, or any three of you, after such array made, from time to time, to Train and take

take Musters of Our said Bands ; and to provide Beacons, and other necessities for the better exercising of Our people, and discovery of sudden invasions and commotions : Of all which your proceedings herein, Wee expect a speedy and plenary account, according to the trust reposed in you, and authority given you by Our Commission on that behalf.

Given at Our Court at York, the twelfth day of June, in the 18 year of Our reign, 1642.

10. *To the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, June 14. 1642. From York.*

C. R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have received severall informations of great sums of money endeavoured to be borrowed of Our City of *London*, by some direction proceeding from both Our Houses of Parliament, & likewise that great labour is used to perswade Our Subjects to raise Horse, and to furnish money, upon pretence of providing a guard for Our Parliament; These are to let you know, that notwithstanding any scandalous Votes which have presumed to declare Our intencion of levying war against Our Parliament, and to lay other aspersions on Vs, so fully disavowed by Vs in the presence of Almighty God, by Our severall Answers and Declarations) all Our desires and purposes are for the publick peace, and that Wee have not the least thought of raising or using force, except We are compelled to it for the defence of Our person, and in protection of the Law : And therefore We expect, that you suffer not your selves to be mis-led by such vaine and improbable suggestions, and doe declare, That you shall lend any sums of money towards the relief of *Ireland* (to which We have contributed all the assistance

sistance could be desired of Vs, which way soever the money given and raised to that purpose is disposed) or towards the payment of our Scots Subjects, We shall take it as an acceptable service at your hands: but if upon generall pretences contrived by a few factious persons against the peace of the Kingdom, you shall give or lend any money, or provide or raise any horses or arms, towards the raising such a guard, We shall look upon it as the raising force against Vs, and to be done in malice and contempt of Vs and Our Authority. And We do therefore straitly charge and command you to publish this Our Letter to the severall Masters and Wardens of the severall Companies that they may be assured, that such Money as they shall lend out of their good affection to the Kingdom may be only employed for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and not towards such guards, which (in truth) are intended by the contrivers of that design (though We believe many honest men seduced by them do not yet see their end) to be employed against Vs: And if you and they shall herein fail punctually and severally to observe Our commands, We shall not only proceed against the severall Companies for deceiving the trust reposed in them; but against the particular persons, as contemners and opposers of Our Authority, and of the Law of the land, in the most exemplary way the known Law of the Land shall prescribe to Vs; and shall be compelled to question the Charter of your City, which We are willing yet to believe (notwithstanding the barbarous and insolent demeanour of the meaner and baser sort) in a good degree to continue loyall to us. And of your obedience to these Our commands We do expect and require a full account, and of the names of such persons who shall oppose the same. Hereof fail you not as you answer the contrary at your peril.

Given at Our Court at York the 14 day of June, &c.

11. *To the Judges, to be published in their Circuits, July 4. 1642. From York.*

C. R.

I Rusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We call to mind that in former times the constant custome was by the mouth of the Lord Keeper for the time being, at the Court of Star Chamber, in the end of Trinity Term, to put the Judges of Assise (shortly after to undertake their severall Circuits) in mind of such things as were then thought necessary for the present for the good government of the Kingdom. This course in Our judgment We do well approve of, That although We want the opportunity, which We and Our Predecessors then had, of communicating Our thoughts to Our Judges, for the good of Our people, yet We do still retaine the same care for the safety and prosperity of Our good Subjects: And much more, by how much, the distempers and distractions of the present times, unhappily fallen, have given us more occasion. We have therefore thought it fit, to supply the defect by these Our Letters; wherein besides the generall care of Our Justice, committed to Vs by God, and by Vs delegated to Our Judges by Our severall Commissions, We recommend unto you in your Circuits, as We shall do to the rest of your brethren in their severall Circuits, these particulars following.

First, That you take care, by all the best means you can, to suppress Popery in all those Countiees whither you are to go, by putting the Lawes made against them in due execution: and that you take like care to give a stop to the over-hasty growth of Anabaptisme, and other Schisms, as far as by the good Lawes of the Land you may; and to punish the Delinquents with an equall hand, and those especially of either sort whom you shall discover to be seditious stirrers and
movers

movers of others to any acts of disobedience to Vs, and Our Government; and that in charge and otherwise, as you shall have fit opportunity, you assure Our good Subjects in Our Name, and in the word of a King, who calls God to witnesse, that by his gracious assistance We are constantly resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, established by Law in this Church of *England*, in the purity thereof, without declining either to the right hand or to the Left, as We found it at Our accessse to the Crown, and as it was maintained in the happy times of *Queen Elizabeth*, & *King James* Our dear father, both of happy memory, and therein both to live and dye.

Secondly, you shall let Our people of those Countiees know, That according to our Kingly Duty and Oath, We are also constantly resolved to maintain the Lawes of this Our Kingdom; and by and according to them to govern Our Subjects, and not by any Arbitrary power, whatsoever the Malevolent spirits of any ill-affected to Our person and government, have suggested, or shall suggest to the contrary. And that We shall also maintain the just privileges of Parliament, as far as ever Our Predecessors have done, and as far as may stand with that justice which We owe to Our Crown, and the honour thereof: But that We may not, nor will admit of any such unwarranted power, in either or both Houses of Parliament, which in some things hath been lately usurped, not only without, but against Our Royall Consent and Command. And We require and command you, as there shall be just occasion offered, in a legall way, that you take care to preserve Our just Right in these cases.

Thirdly, We charge you, as you tender the peace of this Kingdom, in the Government whereof, according to the Laws, you Our Judges of the Law have a principall part under Vs, that you take care for suppressing

pressing of all Insurrections, if any such should happen, and of all Riots and unlawfull Assemblies under any pretence whatsoever, not warranted by the Laws of this Land; and whosoever shall transgresse therein, that you let them know that they must expect that punishment which by the Law may be inflicted upon them, and at your hands VVe shall look for such an account herein, within your Circuit, as becommeth the quality of the place wherein you serve Vs.

Fourthly, because the distempers of the present times unhappily stirred up and fomented by some, under specious, but unjust pretences, and probable to stir up loose and ungoverned people, under hope or impunity as far as they dare to make a prey of Our good Subjects, VVe straitly charge and command you to take the best order you can in those Counties, that Rogues, Vagabonds, and other disorderly people may be apprehended, dealt with and punished according to the Laws, whereby the good and quiet people of Our Kingdom may be secured, and the wicked and licentious may be suppressed: and VVe charge and command you to give it in charge in all the Counties whither you are sent by Our Commissions, that Watches and Wards be straitly kept in all Parishes and places convenient, whereby the Lawes made against such disorders may be put in due execution.

Fifthly, and lastly, you shall let Our people of those Counties know from Vs, and by Our command, that if they shall professe unto Vs, or unto you in Our stead, any thing wherein they hold themselves grieved, in an humble and fitting way, and shall desire a just Reformation or Reliefe, We shall give a gracious ear unto them, and with all convenience returne them such an answer, as shall give them cause to thank Vs for Our justice and favour: And when you shall have

have published Our clear intentions to our people in these things, lest at the first hearing they should not so fully apprehend Our sense therein, you shall deliver a copy of these our Letters to the Fore-man of the Grand-Jury, and to any other, if any one shall desire copies of these Our Letters for their better information: And to the end that Our services in your Circuit may not suffer through the absence of Our learned Council, Our will and command is, that you assigne in every place of your Sessions some of the ablest Lawyers who ride that Circuit to be of Councell for Vs, to assist in such Pleas of the Crown, that may be most necessary for Our service in the execution and punishment of notorious Delinquents.

Of all these things We shall expect that good account from you, as we shall from the rest of your brethren Our Judges, to whom we have also written to the like purpose, of whose fidelity and good affections We are Confident as becometh Vs to look for from you, and for you to render to Vs, wherein you have so great a trust committed.

Given at Our Court at York, July 4. 1642.

To Our trusty and well beloved, the Indg or Judges of Assize for Our Counties of Kent, Surry, Suffex, Hartford, and Essex.

12. *To the Vice-Chancellour of Oxford, July 13. 1642.*

From Beverley.

Reverend Father in God, We greet you well,

VV Hereas We have received a most large and ample testimony of the affection of that Our Royall Vniversity to Vs, by the free loan of a very considerable Sum of Money, in the time of so great and imminent necessity. These are to will and require you, to give to that Our Vniversity from Vs, Our Royall thanks,

thanks, & to assure them, & every of them, (Our loving & loyall Subjects) that this testimony of their hearts towards us, shall never depart out of Our royall memory, and that both they shall be carefully repaid, and the money imployed only upon the defence of Our self, the true Protestant Religion, and the Lawes established in our Kingdom: and whereas We hear, that for this action so full of loyalty and allegiance, some of that Our Vniversity have been Ordered to be sent for; these are to will and require you, to signifie unto them and every of them (who assume such power to themselves without Vs) That We will and command, that no obedience be given to any such summons, holding Our Self bound to protect and defend those, who shall be persecuted for that cause, by having contributed to Our defence and protection. And so We bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Beverly, Iuly 18. 1642.

13. *To the Mayor of Oxford, Iuly 22. 1642. From Nottingham.*

C. R.

TRusty and wel beloved, We greet you wel. Whereas We have lately received very ample testimonies of the good affections of Our Vniversity of OXON, by the loan of such monies as could be thence spared for the supply of Our urgent and extraordinary occasions, for which dutifull and affectionate expression, VVe are informed that several worthy persons of that Our Vniversity, Our servants & others, are threatened to be troubled and molested, We have thought fit to commend the care, assistance, and protection, of that place and of the persons in it, to you as a service, wherein you shall merit Our favour and good acceptance, and of which We shall require an account.

And

And We doe therefore will and require you, as you tender Our displeasure, if any Warrant, Order, or other direction whatsoever shall come to your hand for the apprehending or troubling any person or persons of that Our Vniversity for his good affection to Our service in advancing the businesse of lending and supplying Vs with money, which We shall never forget, that you be so far from countenancing or assisting any such warrant or direction, that on the contrary you use your utmost power to preserve those Our good Subjects from such oppression, the which We shall take in very good part at your hand, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Nottingham, July 22. 1642.

14. *To the Sheriffs of London, January 17. 1642.*
From Oxford.

C: R

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We received lately a Petition from the Aldermen and Common-council of Our City of *London*, by the hands of persons intrusted by them for the delivery, who found such a reception from Vs, as well manifested our regard to that body which sent them; Though We well knew by whom that Petition was framed, and where perused and examined, before it was approved by those, from whom it seemed to be sent, yet We were so willing to enter into a correspondence with that Our City, and to receive any addresse and application from them, according to that invitation We had given by Our late Proclamation; and were so glad to finde that there was yet some hopes they would look to the peace and happiness of that City, and at last sever themselves from any Faction or dependence which might insensibly
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involve them in those calamities they did not foresee, that We returned such a gracious Answer thereunto, so full of candor and affection, that the meanest inhabitant of that Our City, if he carefully consider the same, will finde himself concerned in it, and that We have had an especiall care of his particular. With this answer of Ours We sent a servant of Our own, in the company of those who had been so well used here, to require and see that it might be communicated to the whole body of that Our City; not doubting but that both it and the bringer should receive such entertainment there, as might manifest their due regard of Vs, and of Our affection to them; But to Our great wonder, We finde that after ten dayes attendance, and suffering ridiculous Pamphlets to be published in Our Name, as if We retracted Our former resolutions, (which Pamphlets We have caused to be burned by the hand of the Hangman, as We also require you to see done) instead of that admission We expected to Our Messenger and Message, Guards of armed men have been brought to keep Our good Subjects, to whom that Our Answer was directed, from being present at the reading thereof; and Speeches have been made by strangers (who have been admitted to the City Councells, contrary to the Freedome and Custome of these meetings,) to blast Our said Answer, and to dishonor and slander Vs, which if Our good Subjects there shall suffer, Wee shall be much discouraged in Our desired correspondence with that Our City, and so by the cunning and power of those Incendiaries mentioned in Our Answer (Alderman *Pannington*) who to shew his great loyalty to Vs, and his fittesse to be the chief Magistrate of such a City, being informed that a desperate person there said, *That he hoped shortly to wash his hands*

hands in Our blood, refused to send any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer for his apprehension (*Ven, Fulke, and Manwaring*) who have plunged that Our City into such unspeakable calamities, in which they would still keep it to cure their owne desperate condition, Our good Subjects there are not suffered to receive Our gracious Answer to that Petition : We have therefore thought fit to write these Our Letters to you, requiring you the Sheriffes of Our said City to take care for the publishing that Our Answer (which We herewith send you) to Our good Subjects of that Our City : And Our pleasure is, That you the Masters and VVardens of the severall Companies of Our said City, forthwith summon all the Members of your severall Companies, with all the Freemen and Apprentices (whose hopes and interests are so much blasted in these generall distractions) belonging thereunto, to appear at your severall Halls, where you shall cause Our said Answer, together with these Our Letters, to be publickly read, that all Our good Subjects may clearly understand how far We have been from begetting, how far We are from continuing or nourishing these unnaturall civil dissentions, and how it is in their own power to remove the present pressures, and to establish the future happinesse and glory of that famous City, and most seriously weigh every part of that Our Answer, as well that which carries caution in it for the future, as pardon for what is past; for assure your selves for the time to come, We shall proceed with all severity against such who shall incur the penalty of the Law in those points, of which We have given them so fair a warning in Our said Answer, and whosoever shall not behave himself like a good Subject in this Our Kingdom, shall not, (if We can help it) receive the benefit and advantage of being

Our Subject in any other; but all Forraign Princes shall know, that as such person hath parted with his loyalty to Vs, so he must not hope for any security by Vs, and to that purpose We shall henceforward have a very inquisitive eye upon the actions of all Our Subjects, that some example may be made, how easie it is for Vs to punish their disloyalties abroad, who for a time may avoid Our justice at home. And to the end that none of Our good Subjects of that our City may think themselves bound to obey any of the orders or commands of the pretended Lord Mayor (whom We have and do still accuse of high Treason, and conspiring to take Our Life from Vs) It is well known unto those Citizens who understand the Charter of that City (so amply granted by Our Royall progenitors, and so graciously confirmed by Vs, and of which We presume our good Subjects there do still desire to receive the benefit,) that the said *Isaac Penington* was never regularly erected, or lawfully admitted to be Lord Mayor of that Our City, that in truth Alderman *Cordwell*, was by the plurality of voices chosen, and that this man was never presented to, or admitted by Vs, in such manner as is prescribed by their said Charter, neither had that Judge, who presumed to swear him, any more colour of law or authority to administer such an oath to him, then he hath to doe the same to morrow to any other Alderman of the City: And We do therefore hereby declare the said *Isaac Penington* not to be Mayor of that Our City of *London*, and to have no lawfull authority to exercise the same, and that Our good Subjects of that Our City, ought not to submit to any Orders, directions, or commands which shall issue from him as Lord Mayor of that Our City, but that the same are void and of none effect. And We do once more require you the Sheriffs of Our said City, and all other
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the Magistrates of the same, in which all Our good Subjects of that City will assist you, that you cause the said *Isaac Pennington, Ven, Fulk, and Manwaring*, to be apprehended and committed to safe custody, that We may proceed against them as guilty of high Treason, and principall Authors of those calamities which are now so heavy upon Our poor Subjects of that City, and if not suddenly remedied will in a short time utterly confound a place, and a people lately of so flourishing an estimation in all parts of Christendom. And whereas We are informed that one *Brown* a Woodmonger, *Titchburne* a Linen-Draper, and one *Harvey* a Silkman, have exercised great insolencies and outrages in that Our City, and when many of Our good Subjects there, have assembled together in a peaceable and modest manner, to consult about the peace and welfare of that City, the said mutinous and seditious persons have presumed to lead multitudes of armed men against them, and by such force have beaten, wounded, and killed Our good Subjects, Our will and pleasure is, That if the said *Brown, Titchburne, and Harvey*, or either of them, shall so far neglect Our gracious offer of pardon, as still to engage themselves in those unwarrantable and seditious courses, That you Our Sheriffs of *London*, raise power to suppress the said force, and that you and all Our Ministers of justice, use your utmost means to apprehend the said persons, and to bring them to condign punishment. And We do hereby declare, That it shall be lawfull for any of Our loving Subjects, to resist and oppose the said persons, if they shall hereafter in such a warlike manner, endeavour to molest them, as they would do Rebels and Traytors: And We hope that all Our good Subjects of that Our much injured City of *London*, do take notice of Our grace and favour towards them, in Our so freely passing by and pardoning

the offences there committed against Vs, as We have offered by Our Proclamation and Our late Answer; and of Our very earnest desire to be with them, and to reside amongst them for their comfort, support, and protection, if they shall, by first providing for their own security (in such manner as We have directed them in Our late Answer) give Vs an instance that We may be safe there too: and that they do likewise observe, that being by such violence kept from them, We have done Our utmost endeavour to continue and advance the decayed trading of that Our City, by permitting and encouraging all resort and traffique thither, and therefore if by the stopping of carriages, and seizing commodities by other men, the commerce and correspondence be broken between that place and Our good Subjects of other Counties, they will impute that mischief to the true authors of it, and look upon Vs onely as not able to help them. Do but your duties, and this cloud which threatens a present confusion will quickly vanish away, and you will enjoy all the blessings of a happy Nation, to the which no endeavour of Ours shall be wanting.

15. *To the Sheriff and Justices of Gloucestershire, Feb. 12.*

1642. *From Oxford.*

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas there hath been lately an Insurrection and Rebellion against Vs in Our County of *Gloucester*, which hath so generally possessed the spirits of that County (though We do acknowledge many Gentlemen of the best quality there, have with courage retained their loyalty to Vs, and have suffered with Vs, which We shall alwayes and particularly remember) that there hath been a greater concurrence there in this desperate Rebellion than in any County of *England*,

land, insomuch that We have been compelled to send a considerable part of our Army thither, the which it pleased God to blesse with such successe, that We hope for the future We shall be able by the concurrence and assistance of you, and the rest of Our good Subjects of that good County, to preserve you from the like Invasions. And to shew how far We are from the just sense and indignation We might well entertain against those, who have so wilfully fallen from their allegiance, or concurred with the disloyalty of others, by not applying themselves to a timely prevention, We have sent Our gracious Proclamation to inhibit Our Souldiers from plundering, or using any violence to any of Our Subjects of that County, of what condition soever, and to secure them in the freedome of their Markets, that their Trade and Commerce may be renewed and continued. Yet We must declare unto you, that We expect some reparation, and an exemplary testimony of their conversion and affection, who neglecting Our former Proclamations of Grace and pardon, continued still to foment this unnaturall bloody dissention, though We shall not proceed with strictnesse and severity against them; And it will not seem just that the charge and burthen, brought upon the Countrey by the malice and connivence of such Men, should be equally born by those who have faithfully adhered in their loyalty and affection to Vs, which is the case in the rate for the monethly Contribution agreed upon, in which all persons of ability are equally engaged, how different soever their demeanour hath been; And therefore Our pleasure is, That you, or any three of you (whereof We appoint you Our High Sheriffe to be one) call and summon together the Gentlemen, Clergy, and substantiall Freeholders and Inhabitants of that Our

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County

County, to appear before you at such times and places, as you shall think most convenient, and move them in Our Name freely to assist and contribute unto Vs according to their severall abilities, in these Our urgent and important occasions, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, in which they have been bred, for the defence of the Laws and Liberties, to which they were born, and for the safety of Our person, to which they have so often sworn; and as we believe all well-affectd persons will be ready and willing upon this occasion to expresse their duty to Vs, so We doubt not such, who have by weaknesse and misunderstanding, or through fear and apprehension of danger been so far transported, as to contrIBUTE or consent to these horrid dissentions, will by their free and liberall assistance of Vs, expresse, that their former errors proceed from weaknesse, not from malice. And Our Pleasure is, and We do hereby authorize you Our high Sheriffe to receive all such summes of money as shall be contributed unto Vs, and with the advice of the Iustices of the peace, who shall assist you in that service, to return the names of all such who shall expresse their affections to Vs this way, as likewise of those whose stubbornnesse and perverseness may, in your opinion, have an ill influence upon the peace and quiet of the County. And you shall further require all the Trained Bands of that Our County, to send in the arms they have been charged with, to Our Magazine at *Cyrencester* within ten days after the date of this Our Letter, at their utmost peril: and if any men shall excuse themselves by saying, that their Arms are already delivered in at *Glocester* or *Cyrencester*, or any other place, and therefore that they cannot obey Vs herein, you shall let them know, that We will not consent that their readinesse to obey those commands which tended to the disturbance of the peace of that
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Our County, shall be any excuse for their not obeying Ours, which are for their necessary defence and safety, and therefore We shall expect that every person, within that Our County, who is charged with arms, or hath found arms by vertue of the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia*, shall within the time prefixed deliver the arms with which he is charged, and such who executed the *Militia*, all their armes into Our said Magazine, except such persons who shall sufficiently make proof before you, that their arms were by force and violence taken from them by the said Rebels; and of this you shall give Vs a particular account, that We well knowing the number of arms that Our County stands charged with, and with which private persons have lately furnished themselves, may judg of their affections by their obedience to these commands. Lastly, because the City of *Glocester*, notwithstanding Our gracious Proclamation and offer of pardon, doth yet refuse to yield that submission and obedience which is due to Vs, whereby We may be compelled to visit those parts with our Army, which might else be free from those inconveniencies, We straitly will and command all Our loving Subjects of that Our County, to forbear, and not to entertaine any commerce or traffique with our said City of *Glocester*, neither by buying or selling, or any other offices of Neighbourhood, till the same shall returne to its loyalty and subjection, which if it shall do, We shall receive it into Our protection, and defend it from any assaults or violence. And you shall cause these Our Letters, to be publicly read in all the Churches and Chappels of that Our County, that all Our Subjects may know the contents thereof, and conform themselves accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, Feb. 12. 1642.

16. *To the Privy Councell of Scotland, Decemb. 6. 1642.
From Oxford.*

Right trusty and right well beloved Cosins and Counsellours, and right trusty and well beloved Counsellours, We greet you well. We have lately seen a paper presented to us by the Earl of *Lynsey*, as a Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, of the 7 of November, to Our Subjects of Our Kingdom of *Scotland*; which after many high taxes of Vs and Our government, very earnestly invites, and in a manner challenges assistance, from that our Native Kingdom, of Men and Arms for making a war against Vs, making a claim to that assistance, by vertue of the late Act of Pacification, to the which (out of Our desire to make a perpetuall union between Our two Kingdoms, for the happinesse of both, and by it the more firmly to establish Our own greatness and power,) We cheerfully consented.

As We are at Our Soul afflicted, that it hath been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malicious persons, so far to possesse the hearts of many of Our Subjects of *England*, as to raise this miserable distemper and distraction in this Kingdom, against all our real actions and indeavours to the contrary; so We are glad that this rage and fury hath so farre transported them, that they apply themselves in so grosse a manner to Our subjects of *Scotland*, whose experience of Our Religion, Justice, and Love of Our people will not suffer them to believe those horrid Scandalls laid upon Vs; and their affection, loyalty, and jealousie of Our honour, will disdain to be made instruments to oppresse their Native Sovereign, by assisting an odious Rebellion.

We have from time to time acquainted Our Sub-
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jects of that Kingdom, with the accidents and circumstances which have disquieted this: how (after all the acts of justice, grace, and favour, performed on Our part, which were, or could be desired to make a people compleatly happy,) We were driven by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous assemblies, from Our City of *London*, and our two Houses of Parliament; How attempts have been made to impose Lawes upon Our Subjects without Our consent, contrary to the foundation, and constitution of this Kingdom; How Our Forts, Goods, and Navy were seized and taken from Vs by force, and imployed against Vs; Our Revenue & ordinary subsistence wrested from Vs; How We have been pursued with scandalous and reproachfull language; bold, false, and seditious Pasquils, and Libels publickly allowed against Vs; and been told that We might, without want of modesty and duty, be Deposed. Now after all this (before any force raised by Vs) an Army was raised, and a Generall appointed to lead that Army against Vs, with a Commission to kill, slay, and destroy all such who should be faithfull to Vs. That when We had been by these means compelled with the assistance of Our good Subjects to raise an Army for Our necessary defence, We sent divers gracious Messages, earnestly desiring that the calamities and miseries of a civill War might be prevented by a Treaty, and so We might know the grounds of this misunderstanding. How We were absolutely refused to be treated with: and how at last the Army (raised, as was pretended, for the defence of Our person) was brought into the field against Vs gave Vs battell, and (though it pleased God to give Vs the victory) destroyed many of Our good Subjects, with as eminent danger to Our own person and our Children, as the skill and malice of desperate Rebels could contrive: of all which and the other indignities which have
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been offered Vs, We doubt not the duty and affection of our Scottish Subjects will have so just a resentment, that they will expresse to the World the sense they have of Our sufferings. And Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are not, We hope, so great Strangers to the affairs of this Kingdom, to believe that this misfortune and distraction is begot and brought upon Vs by Our two Houses of Parliament: (though in truth no unwarrantable action against the Law can be justified even by that authority.) They well know how the Members of both Houses have been driven thence, insomuch, that of above five hundred Members of the House of Commons, there are not now there above eighty, and of above one hundred of the House of Peers, not above fifteen or sixteen. All which are so awed by the multitude of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other persons, desperate and decayed in their fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that in truth their consultations have not the freedom and privilege which belong to Parliaments.

Concerning any Commissions granted by Vs to Papists to raise forces, We must refer Our good Subjects to a Declaration lately set forth by Vs upon the occasion of that Scandall, which We send together with this; and for Our own true and zealous affection to the Protestant Religion (the advancement whereof Our Soul desires) We can give no other instances, than Our constant practice, on which malice it selfe can lay no blemish, & those many Protestations We have made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom We know We shall be deerly accountable, if We fail in the observation.

For that Scandalous imputation of Our intention of bringing in Forraign Forces, as the same is raised without the least colour or shadow of reason, and solemnly disavowed by Vs in many of Our Declarations;

ons ; so there cannot be a clearer argument to Our Subjects of *Scotland* that We have no such thought, than that We have hitherto forborne to require the assistance of that Our Native Kingdom, from whose obedience, duty, and affection We should confidently expect it, if We thought Our own strength here too weak to preserve Vs ; and of whose courage and loyalty We shall look to make use, before We shall think of any Forraign aid to succour Vs. And We know no reasonable or understanding man can suppose Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are obliged, or enabled by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to obey the invitation which is made to them by this pretended Declaration ; when it is so evidently provided for by this act, that as the Kingdom of *England*, shall not make war against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without the consent of the Parliament of *England*, so the Kingdom of *Scotland*, shall not make war against the Kingdom of *England*, without the consent of the Parliament of *Scotland* : and when they have alwaies declared themselves so carefull of Our Honour, Safety, and just Rights, which now undergo so great violation.

This we have thought fit to say upon occasion of this late Declaration, and do commend it to you the Lords of Our Privy Councell of Our Kingdome of *Scotland*, to be communicated and published to all Our loving Subjects there ; and if the grave Counsell and advice, which you derived hither by your Act of the 22 of Aprill last, had been followed here, in a tender care of Our Royall person, and Our Princely greatness and authority, then would not this face of Confusion have appeared, which now threatens this Kingdome : And therefore We require you to use your utmost indeavours to enforme Our Subjects of that Our Kingdome, of the truth of Our condition,
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and that you suffer not the Scandals and imputations laid on Vs, by the malice and treason of some men, to make any impression in the minds of Our people, to the lessening or corrupting their affections and loyalty to Vs; but that you assure them the hardnesse We now undergo, and the Arms we have been compelled to take up, are for the defence of Our person, and safety of Our life, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Lawes, Liberties, and constitution of this Kingdom, and for the just privileges of Parliament: And We look no longer for the blessing of Heaven, than wee endeavour the defence and advancement of all these: And We doubt not a dutiful concurrence in Our Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care of Our Honour and just Rights, will draw down a blessing on that Nation too.

17. *To the Privy Councell of Scotland, Sept. 18. 1641.*
From Stratford.

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousins and Counsellours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Counsellours, and trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that upon Petition of the Commissioners from Our late generall Assembly, Our Councel thought fit that you should meet, for discharge of that trust reposed on you by Vs and Our Parliament, whereby all fair means may be used to prevent such troubles and divisions as may interrupt or endanger the common peace of Our Kingdoms: and as it ought to be the continuall study and care, of all good and pious Princes to preserve their people; so certainly it is the duty of all loyall and faithfull Subjects to maintain the greatnesse and just

just authority of their Princes ; so that without this reciprocall indeavour , there can be no happinesse for the Prince , nor security for the people. We are confident Our late actions in *Scotland*, will to all posterity be an acceptable witnessse of Our care in preserving the Liberty of these our Subjects , and Our desire to settle a perfect peace in that our Kingdom : And We are as confident , that the many good Acts We have past here since the down-sitting of this Parliament (indeed denying none but such as denied Vs any power at all , and were never so much as demanded from any of Our predecessors) will bear the like testimony of Our affections to the good and peace of this Kingdome , though the successe hath not bin alike. For though We have used Our best endeavours to prevent the present distractions and thretning dangers, yet so prevalent have been the opposers of Vs , and the peace of Our Kingdoms , as not so much as a Treaty can be obtained (though by Our severall Messages We have descended to demand and presse it) unlesse upon such conditions as would, either by taking all power of Government from Vs , make Vs as no King , or by forceing Vs to quit the protection of such , as (for obeying Vs according to Law and their Oath of Allegiance) they would have Traitors , and so make Vs do an act unworthy of a King : Yet so desirous We are to save Our Subjects blood , (which cannot but be prodigally spent , if We be necessitated by force of arms to decide their unhappy differences) that no sooner any such Treaty shall be offered unto Vs by them (which with Honour and safety We can receive) but We shall cheerfully embrace it. This We have thought fit to acquaint you withall , that from Our selves you may know Our love to peace : and We doubt not but your meeting at this time will produce something which will witnessse your tender

Tender respect to Our honour and safety. And so much do we confide in your affections, as We shall absolutely leave the ways and means of expressing it to your selves. So We bid heartily farewell.

From Our Court at Stafford, Sept. 18. 1642.

18. *To the Privy Councell of Scotland, Octob. 13. 1642.*

From Bridgenorth.

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousins, and Counsellours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Counsellours, and trusty and wel beloved, We greet you well. By your letter of the 29 of September, We conceive how sensible you are of the present distractions of this Kingdom, which cannot be a greater grief to any than Our Self. But seeing all the means We could possibly use for the removall thereof are (by the practises of such as Study division) prevented, and all Our offers of Treating (in a fair way to settle these distempers) slighted and not regarded; We are for the defence of true Religion, and the maintainance of the Liberties of the Subject, the privileges of Parliament, and Our just, and ever till now unquestioned Authority, necessitated to put Our selves in the posture We are now in, and we shall no further beg a blessing from God on Our proceedings, than we intend the preservation of these.

As for your resolution of sending here some of your number; Wee see no reason why they should apprehend any danger in their repair to Vs; for they may be confident to have a safe and free access to Our person, which We have never denied to any of Our good Subjects who repaired to Vs in a dutifull manner, and were not out of Our protection. Therefore We conceive the granting of a safe conduct to
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any such, absolutely non-necessary: But if they apprehend any danger from the present disorders of this Kingdom, & Armies now on foot, We will grant such a pass both for their coming & return, as We ordinarily give to any of Our Subjects or servants for passing through Our Garrisons, Towns, or Armies: which We doubt not will both secure them, and satisfie you. So We bid you heartily farewell. *From Our Court at Bridgenorth the 13 of Octob. 1642.*

19. *To the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, & Common-Council of Bristol, about Mr. Yeomanis and Mr. Bourchier, &c. May 29. 1643. From Oxford.*

TRufty & wel-beloved, We greet you wel. Whereas We are informed that by the power and authority of certain factious and rebellious persons in that Our City of *Bristol*, divers of Our good Subjects (as namely *Robert Yeomans, George Bourchier, William Yeomans, Edward Dacres* and others) of that Our City are imprisoned for preserving their duty and loyalty to Vs, and for refusing to joyn in, or assist this horrid and odious Rebellion against Vs, & that the said wicked & traitorous persons have presumed to condemn the said innocent men to die, & upon such their sentence notoriously against the Laws of God & Man, they intend to execute and murther Our said Subjects; We have thought fit to signifie to you the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the rest of the body of the Councel of that Our City, that if you suffer this horrid and execrable murther to be committed upon the persons aforesaid, and thereby call the just judgement of God, and bring perpetual infamy upon that Our City, We shall look upon it, as the most barbarous and inhumane act, that hath been yet committed against Vs, and upon you as the most desperate betrayers of Vs, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow Subjects. And We doe therefore

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will and command you, not to suffer any violence to be done upon the persons aforesaid, but that if any such be attempted against them, that you raise all the power and strength of that our City for their rescue; and to that purpose We command all Our good Subjects of that Our City to aid and assist you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any grace and favour at Our hands: and that you and they kill and slay all such who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of Our said Subjects; and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. And hereof you are not to fail at your utmost peril.

Given at Our Court at Oxford May 29. 1643.

20. To the City of Gloucester, A Summons, with their Answer, August. 10. 1643.

OVt of Our tender compassion to Our City of Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice by Our Army, which We cannot prevent, if We be compelled to assault it, We are personally come before it to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within that City, as well Souldiers as others, know, That if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this Our City to Vs, VVe are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every of them without exception; and to assure them on the word of a KING, that they nor any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by Our Army in their persons or estates; but that VVe will appoint such a Governour, and a moderate Garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that City and that whole County. But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and favour, and compell Us by the power of Our Army to reduce that place (which by the help of God We doubt not We shall be easily and

and shortly able to do) they must thank themselves, for all the calamities and miseries must befall them. To this Message We expect a clear and positive Answer within two hours after publishing hereof. And by these presents do give leave to any persons safely to repaire to, and return from Vs, whom that City shall desire to employ unto Vs in that businesse. And do require all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army, quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

August 10. 1643.

WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers and Souldiers within this Garrison of *Glocester*, unto his gracious Message return this humble Answer; That We do keep this City according to our Oathes and Allegiance to and for the use of His Majesty and His Royall posterity, and do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

De: Wise, *Major*, John Brewster, G. Dawidsson, Robert Maxwell, Edw. Massie, Con. Ferrer, William Luggo, My. Singleton, Thomas Hill, Thomas Pury, John Scriven, Nich. Webb, Io. Dorney, Anth. Edwards, John Halford, Toby Jordan, Hum. Mathewes, Isaac Dobson, Edward Gray, Charls Blount, Peter Crispe, Rob. Backhouse, Ja. Marcus, Tho. Pury *Jun.* Rob. Stevenson, Thomas Blayney.

21. *To the Inhabitants of Cornwall, a Letter of thanks,*
Sept. 10. 1643. From Sudely Castle.

C. R.

WE are so highly sensible of the extraordinary merit of Our County of *Cornwall*, of their

zeal for the defence of Our person, and the just Rights of Our Crown, (in a time when We could contribute so little to Our own defence or to their assistance; in a time when not onely no reward appeared, but great and probable dangers were threatned to obedience and loyalty;) of their great and eminent courage and patience in their indefatigable prosecution of their great work against so potent an Enemy, backt with so strong, rich, and populous Cities, and so plentifully furnished and supplied with Men, Arms, Money, Ammunition and provision of all kinds; And of the wonderfull successe with which it hath pleased Almighty God (though with the losse of some most eminent persons who shall never be forgotten by Vs) to reward their loyalty and patience by many strange Victories over their and Our Enemies, in despite of all humane probability, and all imaginable disadvantages; that as We cannot be forgetfull of so great deserts, so We cannot but desire to publish to al the World, and perpetuate to all Time, the memory of their merits, and of Our acceptance of the same. And to that end, We doe hereby render our Royal thanks to that Our County, in the most publick and most lasting manner We can devise, commanding Copies hereof to be printed and published, and one of them to be read in every Church and Chappel therein, and to be kept for ever as a Record in the same; That as long as the History of these Times, and of this Nation shall continue, the memory of how much that County hath merited from Vs and Our Crown, may be derived with it to posterity.

Given at Our Camp at Sudely-Castle the tenth of September, 1643.

22. *To the Earl of Essex at Lestithiel, with another letter to him from the Officers of the Kings Army, August 6. 1644. From Liskard in CORNWALL.*

ESSEX, I have been very willing to believe, that when ever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable Kingdom, (which al good men desire) you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you, you have it at this time in your power to redeeme your Countrey and the Crown, & to oblige your King in the highest degree, (an Action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence and honour) such an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or after you shall have. To which there is no more required, but that you joyn with Me heartily and really, in the settling of those things which We have both professed constantly to be Our onely aimes. Let us do this, and if any shall be so foolishly unnaturall as to oppose their Kings, their Countries, and their own good, We will make them happy (by Gods blessing) even against their wils. The onely impediment can be want of mutuall confidence; I promise it you on my part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my Letter to Hertford from Evesham. I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here do) I shall have engag'd unto you the word of a King, that you joyning with Me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your Army such eminent marks of My confidence and valour, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust amongst you, either in relation to the publick, or your self, unto whom I shall then be

Your faithfull Friend,

Liskard Aug. 6. 1644.

C. R.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars, but this will admit of no delay.

O 3

My

My Lord,

VVE having obtained his Majesties leave to send this to your Lordship, shall not repeat the many gracious Messages, Endeavours, and Declarations which his Majesty hath made, and have been so solemnly protested in the presence of God and Men, That we wonder how the most scrupulous can make any doubt of the real, and Royal performance of them. But we must before this approaching occasion tell your Lordsh. that we bear arms for this end only, to defend his Majesties known Rights, the Laws of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the Subject, the Privilege of the Parliament, and the true Protestant Religion, against Popery and Popish Innovations: and this being the professed cause of your Lordships taking arms, we are confident, that concurring in the same opinions and pretences, we shall not by an unnaturall war weaken the main strength of this Kingdom, and advance the designe of our Common Enemies, who long since have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of the time will not suffer us to make any laboured Declarations of our intentions, but only this, That on the faith of Subjects, the Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Souldiers, we will with our Lives maintaine that which his Majesty shall publickly promise in order to a bloodlesse peace, nor shall it be in the power of any private persons to divert this resolutions of ours, and the same we expect from you: And now we must take leave to protest, That if this our proffer be neglected, (which we make neither in fear of your power, nor distrust of our own, but only touched with the approaching miseries of our Nation) that what calamities shall oppresse posterity, will lie heavy on the Souls and Consciences of those that shall decline this Overture; which we cannot hope so seasonably to make againe, if this Coniuncture be let go: And therefore

therefore it is desired that your Lordship, and six other persons may meet our Generall to morrow (at such an indifferent place as you shall think fit) attended with as many ; or if you shall find that any way inconvenient, to come in person , that then your Lordship will appoint such or so many to meet with the like number from hence , that may consider of all means possible to reconcile these unhappy differences and misunderstandings that have so long afflicted the Kingdom. And for the security of your Lordship , and those that shall come with , and be imployed by your Lordship , We do engage our faith and Honour , and do expect the same from your Lordship , desiring withall your very speedy Answer , which must be a guide to our proceedings. Concluding, that if this shall be refused , we shall hold our selves justified before God and Men, whatsoever shall be the successe; so we rest.

From the Army the 8
of August 1644.

*Your Lordships humble
Servants.*

Maurice, Tho. Wentworth, Lindsey, Lo. Hopton ,
Northampton, Cleaveland, Tho. Blagge, Jos. Bamfield,
Anth. Thelwel, Iohn Owen, Tho. Stradling, Robert Howard , Iohn Stocker, Edw. Porter, Gilbert
Armestrong, Rich. Nevel, Tho. Pigat , Io. Browne,
Ad. Scroop, Amy Pollard, Ia. Hamilton, Richard
Thornil, Io. Topping, Ia. Dundasse, Gyles Strange-
ways, R. Smith, Iames Cary, Brainford, Percey,
Iacob Asteley, Rich. Cave, Bar. Stewart, Barnard Aste-
ley, Theo. Gilby, Will. Leighton, Will. Murrey ,
Tho. Blackwell, Tho. Bellingham, Rich. Page, Bar.
Jenckes, Hen. Miller, Rich. Fielding , Tho. Weston ,
Paul Smith, G. Mouldsworth, Phil. Honywood. Tho.
Culpeper, William Leake, Io. Luntler, Io Monck ,
Cha. Fawlke, Rich. Samuel, Arth. Slingsby, Geo.
Goring, Ioseph Wagstaffe, Tho. Bassett, Charls Lloyd,
Geo.

Geo. Lisley, Will. St. Leger, Hen. Lundesford, Barth. Pel, Hen. Shelley, Tho. Pauler, Tho. Kyrton, Anth. Brochet, Devery Leigh, David Stringer, Ja. Mowbray, Cha. Compton, Ed. Nott, Alex. Standish, Jo. Ridech, Jo. Steward, Jo. Gambling, Jo. Grienvile, Arth. Hanningham, James Haiwel, W. Maxwell.

23. *To Prince Rupert, after the losse of Bristol, August 3. 1645. From Cardiffe.*

C. R.

NEphew, this is occasioned by a Letter of yours which the Duke of *Richmond* shewed Me yesternight. And first I assure you, I have been, and ever will be very carefull to advertise you of My resolutions, so soon as they were taken; and if I enjoyned silence to that which was no secret, it was not My fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now as for your opinion of My businesse, and your Counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrell but the defence of My Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confesse that speaking either as a meer Souldier or Statesman, I must say there is no probability, but of My ruine; yet as a Christian I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels and Traytors to prosper, nor this cause to be overthrown. And whatsoever personall punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon Me, must not make Me repine, much lesse give over this quarrel; and there is as little question that a composition with them at this time, is nothing else but a submission, which by the grace of God I am resolved against whatsoever it cost Me; for I know My obligation to be both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon Gods cause, injure My Successors, nor forsake My friends: Indeed I cannot flatter My self

self with expectation of good successe, more than this, to end my dayes with honour and a good conscience, which obligeth Me to continue My endeavours, in not despairing, that God may yet in due time avenge his own cause, though I must aver to all My friends, that he that will stay with Me at this time, must expect & resolve, either to die for a good cause or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the violence of insulting Rebels can make him.

Having thus truly and impartially stated My case unto you, and plainly told you My resolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly or suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any wise to hearken now after Treaties, assuring you, that as low as I am, I will do no more than was offered in My Name at *Vxbridge*, confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a month in the same condition that I was immediately before the battel at *Naseby*. Therefore for Gods sake let Us not flatter Our selves with these conceits. And believe Me, your very imagination, that you are desirous of a Treaty, will but lose me so much the sooner: Wherefore, as you love Me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse hereafter according to My resolution and judgement.

As for the Irish, I assure you they shall not cheat Me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish Rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what Nation soever) more than I see by their actions. And I am sending to *Omond* such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you and all honest Men, a copy whereof by the next opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident, I would not have put you nor My Self to the trouble of this long Letter

Letter, had I not a great estimation of you; and a full confidence of your friendship too.

Charles R.

Cardiffe August 3. 1645.

25. *To the Marquesse of Ormond; June 11. 1646.*
From Newcastle.

C. R.

Right trusty, &c. Having long with much grief looked upon the sad condition Our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in these divers years through the wicked and desperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have ensued thereupon; for the settling whereof We would have wholly applyed Our selves, if the difference between Vs and Our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn Vs: and not having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, We were necessitated for the present safety of Our Protestant Subjects there, to give you power and Authority to Treat with them, upon such pious, honourable, and safe grounds, as the good of that Our Kingdom did then require. But for many reasons too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in treaty with the Rebels, nor to engage Vs upon any conditions with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such reall proofs of your ready obedience to Our Commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein Our service, and the good of Our Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, is so much concerned.

From Newcastle, June 11. 1646.

26. *To the Governours of His Majesties Garrisons ,
June 10. 1646, From Newcastle*

His is added to his Majesties 24th. Message for peace , where the Reader may find it.

26. *To the Duke of Yorke, July 4. 1647. From
Cawtham.*

C. R.

JAMES, I am in hope , that you may be permitted, with your Brother, and Sister , to come to some place betwixt this and *London* , where I may see you.

To this end therefore I command you to aske leave of the two Houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather than not to see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected, to hinder this my desire ,

I have full assurance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* , and the chief Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment , made by them for your return, how, and when you please. *So God blesse you.*

*Casam, July 4.
1647.*

*Your loving Father
Charles R.*

POST-SCRIPT.

Send Me word as soon as you can , of the time , and place, where I shal have the contentment of seeing you, your Brother, and Sister.

27. *To the Marquesse of Ormond, Aprill 3. 1646.*
From Oxford.

The Reader is to take notice, that this Letter and the next, should have come in after the 23, as appears by their date.

C. R.

Right trusty, and entirely beloved Cousin, and Counsellour, We greet you well. Having used all possible and honourable means, by sending many gracious Messages to the two Houses of Parliament, wherein We have offered them all they have heretofore desired, and desire from them nothing but what they themselves (since these unhappy wars) have offered, to procure Our personal Treaty with them for a safe and well grounded peace; and having instead of a dutifull and peaceable return to Our said Messages, received either no answer at all, or such as argues nothing will satisfie them, but the ruine not onely of Us, Our Posterity, and Friends, but even of Monarchy it self; And having lately received very good security, that We, and all that doe or shall adhere to Us, shall be safe in Our persons, honours, and consciences, in the Scottish Army, and that they shall really and effectually joyn with Us, & with such as will come in unto Us, and joyn with them for Our preservation, and shall imploy their Armies and Forces to assist Us to the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace for the good of Us and Our Kingdoms, in the recovery of Our just Right; We have resolved to put Our selves to the hazard of passing into the Scots Army now lying before *Newmarke*: And if it shall please God that We come safe thither, We are resolved to use Our best endeavour with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marquesse of *Montrose*, and such of Our well-affected Subjects of
England

England as shall rise for Vs, to procure it may be an honourable and speedy peace with those who hitherto refused to give eare to any meanes tending thereunto : of which Our resolution We held it necessary to give you this advertisment, as well to satisfie you and all Our Council and loyal Subjects with you (to whom We will that you communicate these Our Letters) - yet failing in Our earnest and sincere endeavours by Treaty, to put an end to the miseries of these Kingdoms, We esteemed Our Self obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve Our Crown and Friends from the usurpation and tyranny of those, whose actions declare so manifestly their designs, to overthrow the Laws, and happy established government of this Kingdom. And now We have made known to you Our resolution, We recommend to your special care the disposing and managing of Our affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive most for Our honour & service, being confident the course We have taken (though with some hazard to Our person) will have a good influence on that Our Kingdom, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels transporing of Forces from them into that Kingdome. And We desire you to satisfie all Our well-affected Subjects on that side, of Our Princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect, as soon as God shall enable Vs. We desire you to use some means to let Vs and Our Council at Oxon hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And so God prosper your loyal Endeavours.

Given at Our Court at Oxon, April 3. 1646.

28. *To the Prince of Wales, June 2. 1646. From Newcastle.*

Charles,

THis is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrot fully to your Mother, what I would have you to do; whom I command you to obey in every thing, except in Religion; concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you; and see that you go not any whither without her or my particular directions. Let me hear often from you, and so, God blesse you.

*Newcastle, June 2.
1646.*

*Your Loving Father,
Charles R.*

If *Jack Ashburnham* come where you are, command him to wait upon you, as he was wont, untill I shal send for him, if your Mother and you be together; if not he must wait on her.

Superscribed,
For My Sonne the Prince.

Oliver Maynell.
Lanerick.

29. *To Colonell Whaly, Novemb. 11. 1647. From Hampton-Court.*

Colonell *Whaly*; I have been so Civilly used by you and Major *Huntington*, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under My hand; as also to desire the continuance of your courtesie, by your protecting of My Householdstufte and moveables of all sorts, which I leave behind Me in this House, that they be neither spoyled nor imbesled: Only there are three pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore; to wit My Wives Picture in blew sitting in a Chair, you must send to *Mrs. Kirk*, My

My eldest daughters Picture copied by *Belcam*, to the Countesse of Anglesey, and My Lady *Stannops* Picture to *Cary Rawly*; there is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the Originall of My eldest Daughter (it hangs in this chamber over the board next the Chimney) which you must send to my Lady *Aubigny*. So being confident that you wish My preservation and restitution, I rest

Your friend,
Charles R.

I assure you it was not the Letter you shewed Me to day, that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that Kind; but I confesse that I am loath to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing My life. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black Grew-Bitch to the D. of *Richmond*.

30. *To the Lord Mountague, November 11. 1647. From Hampton-Court: with a Letter from E.R. to His Majesty, Novemb. 9. 1647.*

Mountague, first I do hereby give you and the rest of your fellowes thanks for the civilities and good conversation that I have had from you; next I command you to send this My Message (which you will find upon this Table) to the two Houses of Parliament, and likewise to give a Copy of it to Colonell *Whaley* to be sent to send to the Generall: likewise I desire you to send all My Saddle-Horses to My Son the Duke of *Yorke*: As for what concerns the resolution I have taken, my Declaratory Message says so much that I refer you to it, and so I rest

Your assured Friend,
Charles R.

May it please your Majesty,

IN discharge of My Duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that My Brother was at a meeting last night with

with eight or nine Agitators; who in debate of the obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting their designs did conclude it was your Majesty, and as long as your Majesty doth live you would be so; and therefore resolved, for the good of the Kingdom to take your life away: and that to that action they were well assured; that Mr. *Dell*, and Mr. *Peters* (two of their Preachers) would willingly bear them company; for they had often said to these Agitators, your Majesty is but a dead Dog. My prayers are for your Majesties safety; but do too much fear it cannot be whilst you are in those hands.

I wish with My soul your Majesty were at My house in *Broadstreet*, where I am confident I could keep you private till this storm were over, but beg your Majesties pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as an advice; it is only my constant zeal to your service, who am

Your Majesties dutifull subject,
E. R.

Novemb 9. 1647.

31. *To Sir Thomas Fairfax, Novemb. 26. 1647. From Carisbrook-Castle.*

C. R.

HAVING left order at Our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a Copy should be given you, of what We had then written to both Houses of Parliament touching the causes of Our withdrawing, and the continuance of Our resolutions to improve every occasion of the satisfaction of all chief Interests, that so a happy peace may be settled in our Dominions; In pursuance whereof, we have lately sent a Message to both Houses from this place, and a copy of it to you; and being desirous in order to that blessed worke, to give you Our present sense upon the condition of affairs as they

they now stand : We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barkley* to repair unto you : and to communicate the same to you : And We shall be glad by him to receive a mutuall communication of your sense also, upon this subject ; not doubting, but you easily perceive by the late disorders , into what a depth of confusion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectuall preventions be not used , and therefore We have now again proposed (as the onely expedient) a personall Treaty, for the composing of all differences, and fulfilling the desires of all interests, to which if you will imploy your credit, as you cannot but expect the blessings of God upon your endeavors therein ; so may you justly look for the best returne that ever Our conditon shall be able to make you.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, Novemb. 26. 1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General.

32. *To Sir Thomas Fairfax, Novemb. 27. 1647.*
From Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

THe free liberty which you willingly afforded Vs to have of the use of Our Chaplains, makes Vs at this time not onely to acknowledge your former civilities, but likewise now to acquaint you that three of Our Chaplains, to wit, *Dr. Sheldon*, *Dr. Holdsworth*, and *Dr. Haywood*, are newly landed in this Isle , not doubting but they shall have the same protection that formerly they had, which still will shew the continuation of your good respect unto Vs, which We upon all fitting occasions shall not be backward to acknowledg. So We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, Novemb. 27. 1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Generall.

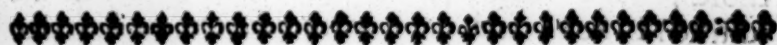
33. *To the Lords, Gent^l. and Committee, of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army;
July 3. 1648. From Carisbrook-Castle.*

MY Lords and Gentlemen: it is no small comfort to Me, that My Native Country hath so true a sense of My present condition, as I find expressed by your Letter of the 8 of this Moneth, and your Declaration, both which I received upon Friday last; and the very same reason which makes you Discreetly and Generously at this time, forbear to presse any thing to Me, hinders Me likewise to make any particular professions unto you, lest it may be imagined that desire of liberty should now be the only Secretary to My thoughts: yet thus much I cannot but say; that in all humane reason, nothing but a *free personall Treaty* with Me, can settle the unhappy distractions of these distressed Kingdoms: So, if that could once be had, I would not doubt, but, that (by the grace of God) a happy peace would soon follow. Such force (I believe) true reason has in the hearts of all Men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not ashamed, at all times to professe, that it hath, and so shall be alwayes want of understanding, not of will, if I do not yeeld to reason, whensoever and from whomsoever I hear it: and it were a strange thing, if Reason should be less esteemed, because it comes from Me, which (truly) I do not expect from you: your Declaration seemiug to Me, (and I hope your Actions will prove, that I am not deceived) to be so well grounded upon *Honour* and *Justice*; that albeit by way of opinion, I cannot give a *Placet* to every Clause in it; yet I am confident upou a calme and friendly Debate, We shall very well agree. To conclude; I cannot (for the present) better shew My thankfullnesse to you, for the generous and loyall expressions

pressions of your affections to Me, than by giving ouy My honest and sincere advice; which is, really and constantly, without seeking private ends, to pursue the publick professions in your Declaration, as sincere Christians and good Subjects ought to do, alwayes remembring, that as the best foundation of Loyalty is Christianity, so true Christianity teaches perfect Loyalty; for without this reciprocation, neither is truly what they pretend to be : But I am both confident that needs not to you, as likewise that you will rightly understand this, which is affectionately intended by your assured Friend,

Carisbrook, Monday 31 July 1648.

C. R.



His MAJESTIES Private Letters to the Queen and others : With the Queens Letters to his Majesty, Intercepted and published by the Parliament: With His Majesties Letter to secretary *Nicholas* concerning the publishing of them, and part of one of his Majesties Declarations concerning the same.

Wherein do evidently appear to his Majesties Honou) (contrary to the intention of the first publshers his Majesties Princely Wisdom, and Piety, with the Reality and Truth of His publick professions; and that His ends were only the peace and happinesse of His Subjects, by their submission to His just Regall Power.

His Majestiss Letter to Secretary Nicholas, concerning the Parliaments intercepting and publishing His Letters. Cardiffe August the fourth, 1645.

Nicholas,

HAVING commanded your fellow Secretary to give you a full account, as well of our proceedings here

here, as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor My Self with repetitions; onely for My Self, I must desire you to let every one know, that no distresses of Fortune whatsoever, shall make Me by the grace of God, in any thing recede from those grounds I laid down to you who were My Commissioners at *Vxbridg*, and which (I thank them) the Rebels have published in print; and though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are Mine, which they have set out in My Name, (only some words here and there are mistaken, and some Comma's misplaced, but not much material) nor as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those papers. Indeed, as a discreet man I will not justifie My Self; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing, that the freedom of all his private Letters were publickly seen, as mine have now been. However, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their Fortune: It is concerning the Mungrel Parliament. The truth is, that *Sussex* his factiousnesse at that time, put Me somewhat out of patience, which made Me freely vent My displeasure against those of his party to My Wife, and the intention of that phrase was, that his Faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base Propositions. This is clearly evidenced by My following excuse to her, for suffering those people to trouble her, the reason being to eschew those greater inconveniences which they had, and were more likely to cause here, than there. I am now going to supper, and so I rest

Your most assured Friend,
C. R.

Part of His Majesties Declaration of June 3. 1643. concerning some of the said Letters intercepted and published 1643.

BVt they have found a Letter of His Majesties to the Queen, which shews that the great and eminent places of the Kingdom are disposed of by her advice, (and then conclude from her Religion, that they are by consequence disposed of by the advice of Papists and Jesuits) and that the persons there named, even during the sitting of Parliament, are either all impeacht by them, or bear arms against them. To this His Majesty replies: 1. That He cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdom when Letters of all sorts of Husbands to Wives, even of his Majesty to His Royal Consort are intercepted, read, brought in Evidence, and published to the World. 2. That if they will remember how far many of those persons of both Sexes, who have received most notable marks of favour from her Majesty, are even in their own opinion, from so much as inclining to Popery, they must confesse her favours and recommendations not to be disposed of by Priests and Jesuits. 3. That the places there named in which her Majesties advice may seem to be desired, are not places (as they call it) of the Kingdome, but private menial places, a Treasurer of the Household, a Captain of the Pensioners, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; That concerning the other more publick places, His Majesty absolutely declares Himself, without leaving room for her advice, which seems to prove the contrary to that, which by this they intend to prove. Fourthly, That of the persons there named, there is not one that either is a Papist, or so like one, that a Jesuite may be thought to have recommended him, nor any one (except the Lord Digby) that was either impeacht, or otherwise taxed, or that could appear

to his Majesty to have ever been in any degree dislike by both or either House, before assisting his Majesty against a Rebellion did lately become Treason: And whosoever considers the time and other circumstances even of that impeachment, and that their eyes were then so dazeled with Fears and Jealousies, as to take a Coach and six horses for an Army raised against them, will hardly look upon that impeachment with that reverence which hath usually been paid to accusations of that kind: And for their bearing of arms in such a time, wherein all his Majesties subjects do either bear or assist arms either for or against Him, He supposes that it will not be thought strange, if He choose persons for such places as are in his own disposall, rather out of the first sort than out of the second.

And as his Majesty hath fully answered their observations upon His Letters, so He believes not one thing more (though unobserved by this Declaration) cannot but be observed out of them by His people; and that is, that in his Majesties most private Letters, to the person nearest to Him, wherein He cannot (as by some of His Declarations He is) be suspected to say any thing out of design or policy, His own clear perswasions, that the Rebels, and not He, have been the cause and are the Fosterers of this Warre and universall distractions, and his sense of it, and His desire of the end of it, are so plainly exprest, that they will by this accident be much satisfied with his Majesties innocence and reality, and believe that the reading this in such a Letter, is the very next degree to reading it in His heart.

1. To the Queen, Jan. 23. 1642. Oxford

Dear Heart,

Saturday and Sunday last, I received two from thee, of the 29 of December, 9 of January, both which, gave Me such contentment as thou mayst better judge, than I describe; the which, that thou mayest the better do, know I was full three weeks wanting but one day, without hearing from thee, besides scurvy London news of thy stay and lameness, which though I did not believe, yet it vext me so much the more, that I could not prove them liars; so now I conjure thee by the affections thou bearest Me, not only to judge, but likewise participate with me in the contentment thou hast given Me by assuring Me of thy health and speedy returne, concerning 45. 31. 7. 4. 132. 300. I will answer thee in thy own words, *le le remetteray a vous respondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment; in the mean time assure thy selfe, That I neither have, nor will loose any time in that businesse, and that I have not contented My selfe with with generalls, and though I hope shortly to have the happinesse of thy company, yet I must tel thee of some particulars in which I desire both thy opinion and assistance; I am persecuted concerning places, and all desire to be put upon thee, for the which I cannot blame them; and yet thou knowest I have no reason to do it, *Newarke* desireth *Savills* place, upon condition, to leave it when his Father dieth; *Carenworth* the same, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom, or how I please: *Digby* and *Dunsmore*, for to be Captaine of the Pensioners, *Hartford* once looked after it, but now I believe he expects either to be Treasurer, or of My Bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter if thou like it, for I absolutely hold *Cottingham* the fittest man for the other. There is one
P 4 that

that doth not yet pretend, that doth deserve as well as any, I mean *Capel*; therefore I desire thy assistance to finde somewhat for him before he ask. One place I must fill before I can have thy opinion, It is the Master of the Wards; I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that thou wilt not mislike My choice; and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* must be Secrerary, for indeed, I can trust no other. Now I have no more time to speak of more, but to desire thee not to engage thy Self for any;

Dated *Oxford*.

20 Feb. 23 Jan.

So I rest

eternally thine,

C. R.

2. *To the Queen, March 2. 1642. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

THough ever since Sunday last I had good hopes of thy happy landing, yet I had not the certaine news thereof, before yesterday, when I likewise understood of thy safe coming to *York*: I hope thou expectst not welcom from me in words, but when I shal be wanting in any other way (according to My wit and power) of expressing My love to thee, then let all honest men hate and eschew Me, like a Monster: and yet when I shall have done My part, I confesse, that I shall come short of what thou deservest of Me.

*H. 3. 189. e 3. 42. 17. 25. 27. 39. 21. 66. a 1. 45. 31. 7. 4. 32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. d 4. g. 4. 46. 35. 67. 48. 7. 40. 5. 43. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33. 62. 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. deer 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 21. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. this a 2. 324. in the mean time 46. 31. 7. 50. e 3. 20. 3. 6. 8. 48. 75. 41. 9. 2. upon 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47. 45. 8. 24. Yesterday there was Articles of a Cessation brought Me from *London*, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them: yet to*

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undeceive the people by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this Rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction; I am framing Articles fit for that purpose, both which, by My next, I mean to send thee, 219.63.58.51.75.46.7.3.45.37.2.189.46.38.1.g1.173.131. *Which I think fit to be done, a* 5.4.30.3.85.43.46.31.8.10.2.32.18.64.7.3.45.31.9.66.46.32.19.41.25.48. *k* 1.e 4.67.69.63. I am now confident that 173. is right for My service: Since the taking of *Cicester*, there is nothing of note done of either side, wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others; onely this I assure thee, That the distractions of the Rebels are such, that so many fine designs are laid open to Vs, We know not which first to undertake; but certainly My first and chiefest care is, and shall be to secure thee, and hasten Our meeting: So longing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine.

Oxford, 12 March, 1642.

C. R.

The last I received of thine was dated the 16 *Feb.* and I believe none of My foure last are come to thee; their dates 3, 13, 15. *Feb.* and 20 *Feb.* or *March* 2.

3. *To the Queen, February 13. 1643.*

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the good of Ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; We having had a pleasing false report, of thy safe landing at *Newcastle*; which thine of the 19 of *Ianuary* so confirmed Vs in, that We, at least were not undeceived of that hope, till We knew how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shal not be

be out of apprehension, untill I may have the happinesse of thy company, for indeed I think it not the least of My misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast runne so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to Me, that I confesse it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much lesse by Words; but My heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee of the 23 of February has bred great discourse in severall persons, and of severall kinds, as My saying I was persecuted for places, is applyed to all, and only those that I there name to be Suitors: whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time to name, as well as some there mentioned; for I confesse 174 and 133 are not guilty of any fault; some find fault with too much kindnesse to thee (thou mayst easily vote from what constellation that comes) but I assure such that I want expression, not will to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions; others presse Me as being brought upon the Stage; but I answer, that having profest to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for Our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning My part in it, for all the soldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of arms, for the lower House wil have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed: Lastly, for Our Military affairs, I thank God that here, and in the West they prosper well; as for the North I refer thee to 226. 140 information: So dayly expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my Wife 13. Feb. 1643.

Oxford 13. Feb. 1643.

*A true Copy
Zouche Tate.*

4. To

4. To the Queen, Jan. 1. 1644. Oxford.

Oxford, Jan. 1. 1644.

DEar Heart, I receive it as a good Augure thus to begin the new year, having newly received thine of the 30 of December, which I cannot stay to decipher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short account; this day I dispatched Digbie Sec. fully relating the state of Our^e affairs, therefore I shall only now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equall treaty, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended, when Tom Elliot went hence, and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effects, as now lastly that assistance was never more needfull, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife 1. Jan 1644. by P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

5. To the Queen, Jan. 9. 1644. Oxford.

Oxford, Jan. 9.

DEar Heart, since my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire Me to send a Commission to the Generall Assembly in Edinburgh, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to London, and that I may have the more time for the making an handsome negative, I have demanded a passeport for Philip Warwick by whom to return My answer, I forgot in My former to tell thee, that Lentall the Speaker brags, that Cardinall Mazarin keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that Lentall says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabrian, I am confident that either
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he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from *London*, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (besides four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Vxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that Generall *Goring* prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken 80 of the Rebels horse & upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

POSTSCRIPT.

The settling of Religion, and the Militia, are the first to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into My hands.

Copy to my Wife 2 Jan. 1644. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

6. To the *Queen*, January 14. 1644. *Oxford*.

Dear Heart,

Pooley came the 12 of January, to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confesse it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing offer from Me so excuse Me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentionest, if their affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew My diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending; wherefore if any be neglected more, than Our wits are faulty; but to imagine

gine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse Me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it though he say it: And for my affection to thee it will not be the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposall of thy journey to *Ireland*, a pretty instance? For seriously of it self, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it, being most assuredly onely to expresse thy love to Me, and not thy judgement in My affaires: As for the businesse it self, (I mean the peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it; I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self, onely; thou maist in generall let the Queen Regent and Ministers there understand, that I have offered My Irish Subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really beleve. But for Gods sake let none know the particulars of My dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugal Agent, (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all My Letters, (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

I will not trouble thee with repetitions of newes, Digbies dispatch which I have seen being so full, that I can adde nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation; It is this, nothing can be more evident, then that Straffords innocent blood haib been one of
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the great causes of Gods just judgments upon this Nation by a furious civill war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty: but now this last crying blood, being totally theirs; I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon Our Cause, having passed by Our faults.

This is a true Copy examined by E. Prideaux.

7. To the Queen; Jan. 22. 1644. Oxford.

Dear Heart;

SINCE My last by *Shoquen* I have had no means of writing, and as little matter: That which is now, is the progress of the Treaty, of which, these enclosed papers will give thee a full account: but if thou have them sooner from *London* than me, thou hast no reason to wonder considering the length and uncertainty of the way, I am forced to send by, in respect of the other: For the businesse it self, I believe thou wilt approve of My choise of Treators, and for My propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last: wherefore I need to say nothing of them; and for my instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them; Now upon the whole matter I desire you to shew the Queen and Ministers there the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, untill they be out of hope to prevaile by force, which a little assistance by thy means, will soon make them so; for I am confident, if I ever could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable summe of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason

son. Concerning Our *interferings here at Oxford* I desire thee to suspend thy judgment, (for I believe few but partiall relations will come to thee) untill I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth ; it being too much trouble to Us both, to set them down in paper.

Copy to my Wife 22 Jan. 1644.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*

8. *To the Queen, Jan. 30. 1644. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

Sunday last I received three Letters from thee ; one a Duplicate of the 30 of December, an other of the sixth of Jan. and the last of the 14 of Jan. and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the last, wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of Me, so I must extreemly wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to Our Cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill Offices done to Me by any, or that they care for My assistance, hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to Me, and particularly for thy diligent care for My assistance ; but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more than a bare suspicion ; And indeed, if it were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of My assistance, at least not giving Me so often account of it as I desire, these three last making no mention of thy self. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day,) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never

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ver make a peace by abandoning My friends, nor such an one as will not stand with My honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe Me, and make others likewise confident of Me.

I send thee herewith My directions to My Commissioners, but how I came to make them my Selfe without any others *Digby* will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning Military as Cabalisticall matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things, (only not answering for words) truly shew my Self to be eternally thine.

The *Portugall* Agent hath made Me two propositions: First, concerning the release of his Masters Brother, for which I have 50000*l.* if I can procure his Liberty from the King of *Spaine*, the other is for a marriage betwixt My Son *Charles* and his Masters eldest Daughter: For the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will give such an answer as shall signifie nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabrans* relations, nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris*, the particular reasons thou shalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for My next Messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of *Gersey* and *Geruesey*, it being impossible for Us here to do much, though We were rich, being weak at Sea.

To my Wife, 30, Jan. 1644. By Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

9. To the Queen, March 13. 1644. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

VVhat I told thee the Last week concerning a good parting with Our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed, and
now

now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to my Self or friends in order to a Treaty, it will be merely My own fault, for I confess when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose:) But now I promise thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not without some eminent good successe on My side) it shall be to My honor & advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, Our Mungrel Parl. here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suffex within few dayes taking his journey to thee, but that I know thou carest not for a little trouble to free Me from great inconveniences ; yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to Me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change, than an end of their vilanies : and I cannot deny, but My confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.*

I have received thine of the third of *March*, by which thou puts Me in hope of assistance of men and Money, and it is no little expression of thy love to Me, that (because of My businesse) Festivals are troublesome to thee; *But I see that assemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee,* and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies, and excuse Me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meer Statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a personall friendship with the Queen Regent, (without shewing any distrust of her Ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, that when her Regency comes

out (and possibly before) she may have need of her friends , so that she shall but serve her self by helping of thee : and to say no more , but certainly , if this Rebëllion had not begun to oppresse Me when it did , a late great Queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place I desire thee , to give Me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to expresse thy kindnesse to him who is eternally thine.

The Northern news is rather better than what We first heard , for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdales* , and *Montrosses* victories , *Carlile* and the rest of Our Northern Garrisons are relieved , and We hope for this year secured; and besides all this , the Northern Horse are already returned and join'd with My Nephew *Rupert*.

To my Wife, 13 March 1644. by P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Predeaux*.

10. *To the Queen. March 27. 1645. Oxford.*
Oxford, Thursday March 27.

DEAR HEART, I wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*; the subject of it was only kindnesse to thee, which , I assure thee shall ever be visible in all My actions: And now I come to *Iermins* account, given Me by thy Command, which is very clear , hopefull in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the Duke of *Lorrains* businesse (which is his passage) why may thou not procure him passage through *France* (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea transportation in respect of landing on the Western Coast, which I believe will be found the best , there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this is an opinion not a direction.

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The generall face of My affairs me thinks begins to mend, the dissentions at *London* rather increasing than ceasing, *Montrosse* dayly prospering, My *Westerne* businesse mending apace, and hopefull in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other,) I am confident to be in a better condition this yeare, than I have been since this Rebellion began, and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company againe, without which nothing can be a contentment unto Me. And so farewell Dear Heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow *Percies* place on the M. of *Newcastle*, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for *Jack Barclay*, I do not remember I gave thee any hope of making him Mr. of the Wards: For *Cottington* had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary *Nicholas*, if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desire thee to command *L. Ier.* to read to thee the Ds. Letter which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the Transportation of the D. of *Lorrains* Army.

To my VVife 27. March 1645. by P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Curbet*.

II. To the *Queen* March 30. 1645. *Oxford*.

Dear Heart,

Since my last (which was but three days ago) there are no alterations hapned of moment, preparations rather than actions being yet Our chiefeſt businesſe, in which We hope that We proceed faster than the Rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for certaine) goes on very slowly; and I believe they

are much weaker than is thought, even here at *Oxford*. For instance, a very honest servant of mine, and no Fool, shewed Me a Proposition from one of the most considerable *London* Rebels, who will not let his name be known until he have hope that his proposition will take effect; it is this, That since the Treaty is so broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming total yeelding to the other, The Treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the Rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted My Servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a worke as is the peace of this Kingdome; *but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned*, therefore he was to be satisfied of the Rebels willingnesse to yeeld to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers. This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the D. of Lorrains Army, there being divers fit and safe places of Landing for them upon the Western Coasts, besides the Ports under My obedience, as Shelfey neer Chichester, and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By My next I think to tell thee when We shal march into to the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

To my Wife, March 30 1645. by *Perit*.

This is a true copy examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

12. To the Queen, April 9. 1645. Oxford.

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I sent to thee by *Pooly*.

Dear heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all occasions of this (which is now the onely) way of conversing with thee, is so welcom to Me as I shall be loath to lose any; expect neither news or publick busines from Me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by My Self, even these nothings will not be unwelcome unto thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that My contentment is unseparably conjoynd with thine, must not all My actions tend to serve and please thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead, (I speak not in respect of the common distraction) even in point of conversation, which in My minde, is the chief joy or vexation of ones life, I dare say thou wouldst pity Me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busie, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to businesse) than 3.9.8.270.55.5.7.67.18.294.35.66.16.54.6.38.1.67.68.9.66. thou may easily judge how My conversation pleaseth Me.* I confess thy company hath perhaps made Me in this hard to be pleased, but not lesse to be pitied by thee, who art the onely cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort Me as often as thou canst with thy Letters; and dost not thou thinke, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto Me, though thou hast no other businesse to write of? be-

lieve Me Sweet Heart , thy kindnesse is as necessary to comfort My heart , as thy assistance is for My affairs.

To my wife 9 Aprill 1645. by Binion.

This is a true Copy examined by *Miles Corbet.*

13. *To the Queen, May 4. 1645. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

THe Rebels now brutish Generall hath refused to meddle with torrain passes , so as yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee , by the way of *London* , which if I cannot very shortly , I will send him by the West ; and now , if I could be assured of thy recovery , I could have but few melancholly thoughts , for I thank God My affairs begin to smile upon Me againe , *Wales* being well swept of the Rebels. *Farrington* having relieved it self , and now being secured by *Gorings* coming , My Nephews having likewise brought Me a strong party of Horse and Foot , these quarters are so free that I hope to be marching within three or foure dayes , and am still confident to have the start of the Rebels this yeare ; I am likewise very hopefull that My Sonne will shortly be in the head of a good Army , for this I have the cheerfull assurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde* : of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse , not more for good will to him , as out of fear that *Hamilton* might returne to a capacity of recosening Me , wherein if a had done nothing , both jealousie and discontentes were like to arise , wherefore I thought fit to put My Nephew *Rupert* in that place , which will both save Me charge , and stop other mens grumblings : I have now no more to say , but praying for , & impatiently expecting of good news from thee , I rest eternally thine.

To my Wife 4. May 1645. by Malin St. Ravy.

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

14. To the Queen, May 14. 1644. Druit Wicbe.

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the conveniency of sending My Letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I shall not faile to do what I can to send often to thee; there is so little newes for the present as I wil leave that subject for others only upon Saturday last I received a dispatch from *Montrosse*, which assures Me his condition to be so good, that he bids Me to be confident that his Countrymen shall do me no harm this year; and If I could lend him but 500 horse, he would undertake to bring Me 20000 men before the end of this Summer. For the generall state of my affairs, We all here think to be very hopeful; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; My sons such, that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himselfe. Its true that I cannot brag of any great store of money, but a sharpe sword alwayes hinders starving at least; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly We shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their Leavies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many moremen in the field than they. I am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of My Sonne *Charls*, which troubles Me the more, that thou maist suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of My word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is true, He hath sent a desire to Me, that Sir *John Grienfield* may be sworne Gentleman of his Bed-chamber

chamber, but he is already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusall would be a great disgrace both to my Son and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers merits, and his own hopefullnesse, besides the great power that Family has in the West. Yet I have refused the admitting of him untill I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my Son for ingaging himself without one of Our consents: then, not to refuse thy own consent: and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of My Sons Letter. So farewell, Sweet heart, and God send Me good news from thee.

Copy to my Wife, May 14. 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

15. *To the Queen, June 9. 1645. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

O*xford* being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee than otherwise I could have expected, which makes Me believe, that My good newes will not be very stale, which in short is this, since the taking of *Leicester* My marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before *Bostel-house*; at first I thought they would have fought with Me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but they are since gone to *Brickhil*, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be: whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Brown* having been at *Cudgels*, and his men and *Cromwells* likewise at blows together, where a Captain was slain

slain, or wasting their men, I will not say; besides *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the Western Rebels, but I doe not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that (since this Rebellion) My affairs were never in so fair and hopefull a way, though among Our selves We want not Our own follies, which is needlesse, and I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as I am confident shall do no harm nor much trouble Me: Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz-Williams*, assuring Me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindnesse, which makes Me capable of taking contentment in these good successes: *For as divers men propose several recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion; so thy company is the onely reward I expect and wish for.*

To my Wife 9 June, 1645.

This is true Copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

16. To the Queen, Decem. 1644. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

I Know thy affection to Me so truly grounded, that I thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble, to finde My reputation, as My life in danger: therefore lest the false sound of My offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy minde from such rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have used to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of My wayes; Then know (as a certaine truth) that all even My party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged Me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew My reall intentions to peace; *And likewise*

wise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder Me from a good peace: First, because their own party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and General against General in point of Command: Upon these grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good success) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety, amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably concealeable) the sound of My return to London was thought to have so much force of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to Me: yet lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joyn'd conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signifie nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then observe, if a Treaty at London with Commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used, nor, in case they will treat with no body but my Self, so that the conditions save any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at London the malignity which our factious Spirits here may infuse into this Treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumors, and though I judge my Self secure in thy thoughts from suspecting Me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy self, this certain truth, That no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make Me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs I refer

fer thee to 92, concluding (as I did in My last to thee)
conjuring thee, as thou lovest Me, that no appearance
of peace (and now I adde) nor hopefull condition of
mine, make thee neglect to hast succour for him who is
eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. by Tom Elliot.

17. To the Queen, January 2. 1645. Oxford.

Dear Heart.

HAVING decypher'd thine which I received yester-
day, I was much surprized to finde thee blame
Me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have
often complained for want, never mist any occasion of
sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch
went from either of My Secretaries without one from
Me, when I knew of it.

*As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I
shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction,
this in generall; If there had been but two (besides
my Self) of My opinion, I had not done it, and the
Argument that prevailed with Me, was that the cal-
ling did no wayes acknowledge them to be a Par-
liament, upon which condition and construction I
did it and no other wayes, and accordingly it is registred
the Councel Books, with the Councels unanimous ap-
probation; but thou wilt finde, that it was by misfortune,
not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner adversised
of it.*

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much
trouble Me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted
before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since
that which may bear a bad construction hath been
presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having re-
ceived the true reason and meaning of it, the fear of
some such mischance made Me the more carefull to
give

give thee a full account by *Tom Elliot*, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them from Me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem Me as thou findest Me constant to those grounds thou lests Me withall, and so fare well
Dear Heart.

Copy to my Wife, 2 Jan. 1644. By P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by *E. Pr. deaux.*

18. *To the Queen, Feb. 9. 1644. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet send thee any certaine word concerning the issue of Our T R E A T Y, onely the unreasonable stubbornness of the Rebels, gives daily less & less hopes, of any accomodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shal hinder thee from hastning all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the D. of *Normans*; concerning which I received yesterday, good news from Dr. *Goffe*, that the P. of *Orange* wil furnish shipping for his transportation, & that the rest of his negotiation goe hopefully on, by sea. & many other ways, I finde thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their severall kinds) to esteem most; but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to doe this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of My life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montrose*, who upon surprize totally routed those

those Rebels, killed 1500 upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of January 27, by the Portugall Agent, the only way (but expresse) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed *Sabran* sent me word yesterday, besides *some complements of the Imbargo of the Rebels ships in France* (which I likewise put upon thy score of *kindnesse*) but is well enough content that the Portugall should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding my Army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in Me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt Vs) than to put my Selfe into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can now assure thee, that *Hertogen* the Irish Agent is an arrant Knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquets.

To my Wife, Feb. 19. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Ed. Prideaux.*

19. To the Queen, Feb. 25. 1645. Oxford.

Dear heart,

THe expectation of an expresse from thee (as I find by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news to Me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with My diligence in writting. As for Our Treaty there is every day lesse hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But will absolutely promise thee, that if We have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy returne. For I vow that without thy company I can neither have

have peace nor comfort within My selfe. The limited days for treating, are now almost expired without any the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of dayes, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the World. And I assure thee, that thou ~~needst not doubt the issue of this Treaty;~~ *for my Commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatned nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou so well remembers.* And in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confesse that in some respects thou hast reason to bid Me beware of going too soon to *London*: for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit; of which perswasion *Percy* is one of the chiefe, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning Our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for Warre of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever shew My constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all Our Friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetuall Parliament. But as thou loves Me, let none perswade thee to slacken thine assistance from him who is eternally thine,

C. R.

*To my Wife 15. Feb. 1645. by P. A.*This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.**20. To the Queen, March 9. 1645. Oxford.**Dear Heart,*

NOW is come to passe what I foresaw, the fruitlesse End (as to a present peace) of this Treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall still find very good effects of
it

it; for besides that My Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the Rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken Me prisoner, so that assuredly, the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise, at this time discovered, and shall likewise make it evidently appear to the world, that the *English* Rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the *Scots*, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these Rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the only end of the *Scotch* Rebellion; but it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawfull meanes to maintaine it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for My assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: It is, that I give thee power to promise in my Name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penall lawes against the Roman Catholicks in *England* as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerfull assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this businesse requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can expresse to thee; for it is no thank to Me to trust to thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt Us: And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for Me, even in this, I trusting thee (though it concern Religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of My affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this bearer

bearer *Pooly*, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, assuring thee that none hath or shal have any copy of it but My self, to the end thou mayest use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but Me; and so likewise from Him to thee who is eternally thine.

To my Wife 5 March, 1645. by Pooly.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

21. *To the Queen, March 20. 1642. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

Vpon Saturday last I wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I believe may come as soon to thee) and I have received thine of the seventh upon Monday last, which gave Me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confesse, that in this no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; & I hope thou wilt by satisfying Me confesse the justnesse of my expectation. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God send me a good unlading) for I look dayly for some blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from *Ireland*, likewise the refractory horse (as the *London* Rebels call them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not knowne what fomenters they have, or whether they have none, if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to Me; howsoever I doubt not, but if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this I believe

believe to give thee a perfecter account next weeke, having sent to try their pulses. *Petit* came yesterday, but he having at *London* thrust his Dispatches into the States Ambassadors Pacquets I have not yet received them; and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Western news, knowing of an oportunity for writing to thee within these three or four dayes; onely I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy Tin-adventure at *Callis*; and so farewell Sweet heart.

Thine of the tenth I have newly received, whereby I finde that thou much mistakes Me concerning *Ir.* for I desire nothing more than a peace there; and never forbad thy commerce there; onely I gave thee warning of some *Irish* in *France*, whom I then thought and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife 20 March, 1644. by *P. A.*

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

22. To the Marquesse of Ormond, December 15. 1644.
Oxford.

ORMOND, I am sorry to finde by Colonel *Barry* the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot finde so good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affairs here; wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick Dispatch will give you sufficient Instruction and Power, yet I have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with My own hand. As for *Poinings* Act I refer you to my other Letter: and for matter of Religion, though I have not found it

R

fit

fit to take publick notice of the paper which *Brown* gave you, yet I must command you to give him my *L. Muskerry* and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking at it, their Nation in Generall, and they in particular should have comfort in what they have done, and to shew that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the pen^{al} Statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Irish gives Me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to My rights, then I will consent to the repeale of them by a law; but all those against Appeals to Rome, and Premunire must stand; all this in Cypher, you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strict secrecy; so againe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private Letter, I rest.

A true Copy.

Zouche Tate.

23. To the Marquesse of Ormond, January 7. 1644.
Oxford.

Ormond,

VPon the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there.

‘The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and most assuredly, one of the first and chief Articles they will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish Warre; which is a point not popular for Me to breake on; of which
you

'you are to make a double use : First, to hasten
'with all possible diligence) the peace there, the
'timely conclusion of which will take off that inconve-
'nience which otherwayes I may be subject to, by the
'refusall of that Article, upon any other reason. Se-
'condly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish, the dan-
'ger there may be of their total and perpetuall exclusi-
'on from those favours I intend them, in case the Rebels
'here clap up a peace with Me, upon reasonable terms,
'and only exclude them; which possibly were not coun-
'celable for Me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be
'the only difference betwixt Vs, before it were perfe-
'cted there : these I hope are sufficient grounds for you
'to perswade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace up-
'on reasonable terms, assuring them that you have
'once fully engaged to them My word (in the conclu-
'sion of a peace) all the earth shall not make Me break
'it.

'But not doubting of a peace, I must againe remem-
'ber you to presse the Irish for their speedy assistance
'to Me here, and their friends in *Scotland* : My intenti-
'on being to draw from thence into *Wales* (the peace be-
'ing once concluded) as many as I can of My armed
'Protestant Subjects, and desire that the Irish would
'send as great a body as they can to land about *Cum-*
'*berland* which will put those Northern Counties in a
'brave condition, wherefore you must take speedy order
'to provide all the shipping you may, as well *Dunkirk*
'as Irish Bottoms; and remember that after March it
'will be most difficult to transport men from *Ireland* to
'*England*, the Rebels being masters of the Seas : So ex-
'pecting a diligent and particular account in answer to
'this Letter, I rest

Your assured constant Friend,

C. R.

24. *To the Marquesse of Ormond, February 16. 1644. From Oxford.*

ORMOND, I should wrong my own service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherston*, if I did not recommend him and his businesse to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by Me, with materials sufficient: But in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Cessation (according to a Postscript in a Letter by *Jack Barry*, a copy of which Dispatch I herewith send you.) So I rest.

POST-SCRIPT.

In case upon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to seek to renew the cessation for a year, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it no cheaper) to joyn with them against the Scots and *Inchiquin*; for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept lesse, or I be able to grant more.

25. *To the Marquess of Ormond, Feb. 27. 1647. Ormond,*

THE impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved Me to give you those powers and directions, Which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing daily much

much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English Rebels have (as far as in them lyes) given the command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aim is at a total subversion of Religion and Regall power; and that nothing less will content them, or purchase peace here; I think my Self bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to lose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish Subjects, for such scruples as in a lesse pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by Me: For their satisfaction I doe therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that My Protestant Subjects there may be secured, and my Regall Authority preserved: But for all this you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of *Poinings* Act for such Bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal Laws against Papists, by a Law will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in My assistance against My Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against Conscience or Honour.

Copy to *Ormond*, 17. Feb. 1644.

A true copy, *Zouche Tate*.

26. *To the D. of R.*

R *Ichmond*, I thank you for the account you sent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new.

to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to *West.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with My coming to *West.* And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this bearer will tell you how well Our Western and Northern Affotiations goes on to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This a true Copy,

Zouche Tate

21. *To the Lord Jermin, April 24. 1645. Oxford. Harry,*

I Est my Wife should not yet be fit for any businesse, I write this to you; not to excuse My pains but ease hers, and that she may know but not be troubled with my kindnesse, I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other businesse, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs: And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to *Digbys* sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated for sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tye himself to certaine truthes in this kind, you must have nothing from him but my Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houses; but tell me, can you not distinguish between what We send you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an Oath the mark of distinction; and are you obliged to publish all the news We send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French Court, and certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight may seem of greater difficulty

ty: for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon Me were in vaine, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any Rebels to keep the ballance of dissention amongst Vs equals.

For matter of News and present state of my affairs I referre you to *Digby*, only this in generall, that if it shall please God to assist Vs but this year half so miraculously as he did the last (My present state compared with what it was this time twelve moneth) I am very hopefull to see a joyfull harvest before next Winter: nor do I thinke this in any humane probability possible; except my Wife can procure Me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to dispaire, yours giving me good hope, concerning *Lerrain*, and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an author, as 196, yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149 in hers the ten of *March*, says, *lay une Affaire, assures que vous donnera 40000 Pistols que Je vous eussi envoye si l' eussi en mon navier revenu avec l' estain.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that it is not reasonable to expect from my Wife, which is to give me a continuall account, what Letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37, and likewise I now begin the same with you: so farewell.

In your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which though it be not as I would have have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder me to imagin her worse than she is, if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded *Digby* to write freely concerning *Will. Murry*, which I hold to be necessary as concerning *Montrosse* businesse.

To the L. Jermin, 24. Aprill 1645. concerning France.

This is a true copy examined by M. Corbet.

To

28. *The Queen to the King, March 30. 1643. York,*
My dear heart,

I Need not tell you from whence this Bearer comes ; onely I will tell you, that the Propositions which he brings you are good , but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution : therefore finde some means to send them back , which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir *Hugh Cholmley* is come with a Troop of Horse to kisse my hand : the rest of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ship laden with arms, which the Ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is Ours ; the Rebels have quitted Tadcaster upon Our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: We send more forces to drive them out , though those We have already at Wetherby are sufficient, but We fear lest they have all their forces thereabout, and lest they have some designe; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt; Between this and to morrow night We shall know the issue of this business; and I wil send you an expresse: I am more carefull to advertise you of what you do , that you and We may finde means to have passe-ports, to send : and I wonder, that upon the Cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety: this shews my love : I understand to day from London, that they will have no Cessation, & that they treat at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships, and Ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the Army : Certainly, I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason : But I would the disbanding of the perpetuall Parliament, first: and certainly the rest will be easily afterwards. I do not say this of My own head alone : for generally both those

those who are for you and against you in this Countrey, wish an end of it: and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, *Hull* is Ours, and all *Yorkshire*, which is a thing to consider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetuall Parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into *France*, not being willing to fall againe into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in *England*; remember what I have written to you in three precedent Letters, and bee more carefull of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, March 30.

29. *The Queen to the King*, June 27. 1643. *Newark*.
My Dear Heart,

I Received just now your Letter by my Lord *Saile*, who found Me ready to goe away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two dayes stop, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*; young *Hotham* having been put in Prison by order of Parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260 that he would cast himself into his arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* should be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260 writes for your answer, so that I think I shall goe hence Friday or Saturday, & shall go lie at *Werton*, and from thence to *Asby*, where we will resolve what way to take, & I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before, will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the Enemy marches: all their forces of *Nottingham* at present being gon to *Leicester*, &
Darcy

Darby, which makes Vs believe, that it is to intercept Our passage, as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word, at this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*: I leave 2000 Foot, and wherewithall to arm 500 more; 20 companies of horse, all this to be under *Charles Cavendish* whom the Gentlemen of the Countrey have desired me not to carry with me, against his will, for he desired extreemly not to go. The Enemy have left within *Nottingham*, 1000 I carry with me 3000 Foot, 30 Companies of Horse and Dragoons, 6 peeces of Canon, and two Morters, *Harry Iermix* commands the forces which go with me, as Colonell of my guard, and Sir *Alexander Lesley* the Foot under him, and *Gerard* the Horse, and *Robin Legge* the Artillery; and her she Majesty Generalissima, and extreemly diligent with 150 Wagons of Baggage to govern in case of battell, have a care that no Troop of *Essex* his Army incommoderate Us: for I hope that for the rest We shall be strong enough, for at *Nottingham* We have had the experience, 1 of Our Troops having beaten 6 of theirs, and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extreemly disadvantageous for you, for you shew to much feare and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewell my dear heart.

The Queen to the King 27 June, 1643.

30 *The Queen to the King April 3. 1644.*

THis Letter should have gone by a man of Master *Denedsdale*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this Subject: and therefore by this man it signifies nothing but the end was so pleasing that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know
by

by *Elliot* the issue of the businesse of *Todcaster*, since we had almost lost *Scarborough*, whilest *Cholmly* was here, *Brown Bushell* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: But *Cholmley* having had notice of it, is gone with our Forces, and hath re-taken it; and hath desired to have a Lieutenant and Forces of ours to put within it, for which we should take his; he hath also taken two Pinaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44 men to put within *Scarborough*, 10 peeces of Canon, 4 barrells of powder, and 4 of bullet. This is all our news: Our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfaxs* Excellency, and I will make an end of this Letter, this third of Aprill. I have had no news of you since *Parsons*.

A true Copy.

P. W.

31. *The Queen to the King Aprill 21. 1644. Bath.*

My Dear Heart,

F*Red. Cornwallis* will have told you all our voyage as farre as *Adbury*, and the state of my health: Since my coming hither, I find my selfe ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the increase of my Rhume.

I hope that this days rest will do me good: I go to morrow to *Bristol*, to send you back the Carts; many of them are already returned: My Lord *Dillon* told me, not directly from you, though he sayes you approve it, that it was fit I should write a Letter to the Commissioners of *Ireland* to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their paper, and to assure them that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; there-

therefore if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not doe more than you appoint: And also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise: for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the rest will be enough; for the Letter which I shall write to him shall be with my own hand: and if it be to all your Commissioners, it shall be by the Secretary. Farewell my dear heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely Yours.

A true copy.

Zouche Tate.

32. *The Queen to the King, December 6. 1644.*
Paris.

P*aris.* January, I have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I will say nothing concerning this but onely concerning the affair of (*Gor.*) If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at *London*; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold, and if it fall out otherwise, *that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need.* Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a Regiment of Guard; for my selfe I think I cannot be *seeing the malice which they have against me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both*: but in my opinion Religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat; *For if you do agree upon strict-*
nesse

nesse against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your self. I have dispatched an expresse into Scotland, to Montrosse, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of Lorrain, and into Hol. I lose no time; if I had more of your newes all would go better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true copy.

Zouche Tate.

33. *The Queen to the King, January 27. 1644.*

P A R I S.

Paris January 17. My Dear Heart, Tom Elliot two dayes since hath brought me much joy, and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, the fear I have that you goe to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsell, unlesse it be to hazard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of Portugall dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at Vxbridge: For the honour of God trust not your self in the hands of these people; And if you ever goe to London before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the Militia, they have done and will doe whatsoever they will. I received yesterday Letters from the D. of Lorrain, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he wil bring you ten thousand men: Dr. Goffe whom I have sent into Holland shall treat with him in his passage upon this businesse;

businesse; and I hope very speedily to send you good news of this, as also of the money. Assure thy self I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to dy by famine, rather than not to send to you. Send me word alwaies by whom you receive my Letters for I write both by the Ambassadour of *Portugall* and the Resident of *France*. Above all have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholicks. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it; yet my self in Cyphers shew to my Nephew *Rupert* that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him; I know not how to send great packers.

My Wife 17 Jan. 1644.

A true Copy,

Zouche Tate.

34. *The Queen to the King, March 13. 1644.*

Paris.

P*aris* this 13. of March. My Dear Heart, Since my last, I have received one of your letters marked 16. by which you signifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pooley*, which hath a little surpris'd me, seeming to me that you write as if I had something in my Letter which had displeas'd you; if that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my selfe your Dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, which is only to Lord *Iermin* to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it my self: but if it please you I will do it, and none in the World shall see them: be kinde to mee or you kill

kill me : I have already affliction enough to bear, which without you I could not doe, but your service surmounts all : farewell my Dear Heart : behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest † ; and I pray begin to remember what I spake concerning *Jack Barkly* for Mr. of the Wards; I am not ingaged nor will not be for the places of *L. Per.* and others, do you accordingly.

13 March 1644.

Oxford. Feb. 1644.

35. *Memorials for Secretary Nicholas, concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge.*

First for Religion and Church-goverment I will not goe one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2 And so for the *Militia* more than what ye have allowed by Me but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they, (I mean the English Rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3 As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but of as much profit as you will : with this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hide.*

This is a true Copy.

Zouche Tate.

Directions

31. *Directions for Uxbridge Commissioners.**First concerning Religion.*

IN this the government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief question, wherein two things are to be considered , Conscience and Policy. For the first ; I must declare unto you, that I cannot yeeld to the change of the Government by Bishops ; not only as I fully concur with the most generall opinion of Christians in all Ages , as being the best , but likewise I hold my self particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation , not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches Patrimony , I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure Sacrilege , and likewise contrary to my Coronation Oath , but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses , if any hath crept in , or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second , as the Kings duty is to protect the Church , so it is the Churches to assist the King , in the maintenance of his just authority ; wherefore my Predecessors have been allwayes carefull (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown ; without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the Kings head ; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a Kings quarrell ; for without it the Kingly power is but a shadow ; and therefore upon no means to be quitted , but to be maintained according to the ancient known

known Lawes of the Land : (yet because to attain to this so much wished for peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon, I permit you, either by leaving strong Towns or other Military force into the Rebels possession (until Articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace : provided alwayes, that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to Me : *And to make sure that the peace once settled, all things shall return into their ancient Channels.*

Thirdly for Ireland.

I confesse they have very specious popular Arguments to presse this point, the gaining of no Article more concluding to their ends than this : And I have as much reason both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any : all the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused Me to make the Irish Cessation, and there remaine yet as strong reasons for the concluding of that peace; wherefore you must consent to nothing to hinder Me therein, untill a clear way be shown Me, how My Protestant Subjects may probably (at least) defend themselves, and that I shall have no more need to defend My Conscience and Crown from the injuries of this Rebellion.

A true Copy.

Zouche Tare.

At *Vxbridge* on Wednesday the 29 of January, 1644. the Protestation underwritten was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesties Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a wel-grounded peace.

I *A. B.* being one of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for the present Treaty at *Vxbridge*, do protest and promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveale to any person or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any matter or thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty, by any one, or more of his Majesties Commissioners in any private debate amongst our selves, concerning the said Treaty, so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unlesse it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, that it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, that this shall not binde, where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie his Majesty the number of the Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result, in this Treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true copy, examined by *Zouche Tate*.

37. *Instructions for Colonell Cockram, to be pursued in his negotiations to the King of Denmark.*

YOU are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by his Majesties command, as to the nearest ally of his Crown, his Unkle, and who he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in interests as affection,

tion, you are sent to give a particular account of the state of his Majesties affairs, to renew the antient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms, and Families Royall; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be usefull to the present affairs of *England*, and all occurrences in the future of those of *Denmark*.

That the present affair of your negotiation, is to demand an assistance from his Majesty, such an one as the present state of the affairs of *England* requires, against a dangerous combination of his Majesties Subjects, who have not only invaded his Majesty in his particular rights, but have laid a design to dissolve the Monarchy and frame of Government, under pretences of Liberty & Religion, becomming a dangerous precedent to all the Monarches of Christendom to be looked upon with successe to their designe.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such as hath not admitted any forraign treaty to be interessed in suppressing their designe, without giving them advantage of Scandalling his Majesties intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated under pretence of Reformation of particular abuses of Government, and Ministers of Estate, to concur genrally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence and design were visible to his Majesty) a present compli-
ance was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his Majesties part, that might seem to defeat the great expectations which they had raised in the Commons in those plausible particulars might have occasioned a generall revolt, throughout the Kingdoms, great jealousies being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his Majesties Forraign Treaties and Force, to be used to oppose and suppress those their desires and the movers therein.

Vpon the credit they had herewith on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to dissolve the Government of the Church, according to its constitution in *England*, a chief column and support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They lastly invaded his Majesty in all the Prerogatives of his Crown, and under pretence of ill Ministers and counsellours of Estate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the nomination of all Ministers of Estate, and of his Majesties Family; withdrew all His Reuenue into their own hands, and to confirme themselves in an absolute power of disposing His estate, entred upon possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdom, His Navy and Magazines, in which his Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous Tumults were raised against Him, so that He was forced to forsake *London*, for preservation of His person, His Queen, and Children.

That since, for the safety of the Queen He hath been forced to send her into *Holland*, to retire Himself to the best affected party of His Subjects, from whence by Declarations setting forth the finister proceedings of that Faction discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to Him, He hath had the advantage generally to undeceive His people, to draw to Him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction still keeping up some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they find themselves, begin to make head against Him, have appointed a Generall, and are levying Forces to maintaine their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence, and Rebellion.

That his Majesty having great encouragements given

ven Him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to Him, is already advanced near them with 6000 Horse, and 10000 Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condescended to give her Majesty, the Q. a convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her return into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon His Majesties personal appearance, have declared for Him, so that His affairs at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all His Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not looke upon so dangerous a president to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a designe, begun within His Kingdom.

That to give his Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to His own interest, of their successe, It hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the *Dutch*, and to set out a Fleet, to take away His Customs of the *Sound*.

That they have since imputed to his Majesty as a ground to scandal Him with His people, that He did negotiate, the introducing by his Uncle the King of *Denmark*, a forrain power, to settle His affairs; & under that pretext have given large Commission, and particular instructions to the Fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such *Danish* ships at they should meet, & to fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take & detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the *Norway* trade driven commonly in this Kingdome, in their own bottoms: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation, being bound for the *West-*

Indies, and put in by stresse of weather in the West of *England*.

That in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the Royall blood, and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon His Royall family; endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from His Sister, at once to cut off the interests and pretensions of the whole Race, which their most detestable and scandalous designe they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times, to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which as His sacred Majesty of *England* in the true sense of honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued league of amity hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan, and raising of Men, Money, Arms, and ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs: and of such in the first place as may be most requisite and are wanting to his Majesty.

That to set His levies on foot, & put him in a posture to protect his Subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution, 100000 li. will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word, and solemn engagement, upon this treaty, he is contented of such his Crown jewels as are in his disposal to leave His Royall pledge, if it shall be desired.

The particulars of arms that he desires, are 6000 Musquets, 1500 Horse-arms, and 20 pieces of Artillery mounted.

Assistance of men, he desires onely in Horsemen;
and

and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island or *Newcastle* are designed for the landing of the said horse, and Magazin of the said provisions, for reception likewise, and protection of such his ships as he shal think fit to imploy for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade upon these Coasts, and for ascertaining the correspondency and intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best fort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in al his Majesties Dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready out-let, and a strong Fort under his Majesties command.

That in lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majesty will oblige himself, and ratifie in expresse Articles to restore into the Magazines of *Denmarke*, a like proportion of Arms and ammunition, to repay & defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of Horse, and as soon as his affairs shall be settled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and Title to the Customes of the *Sound*, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a League offensive and defensive, against intestine Rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the negotiations and Articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies, and Arms, present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

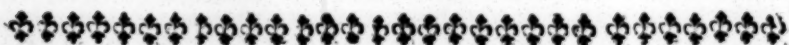
That in case the King of *Denmark* will lend money upon jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be

sent to him, or delivered to his Agent here ; Who may have order to pay the money here ; or any other Jewels

That there have been in discourses, severall Propositions of Accommodation made by them to the King , to which the King hath at all times made more advances on His part , than in reason could have been expected from Him , and the difficulties have still risen on theirs

And that whereas His Majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the King of *Denmark* from his Parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his Majesties Allies , as they have done at home among His people , his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within His Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Majesties , but that he be dismiss and sent away so soon as ever he shall arrive.

Note, this paper concerning *Cockram* was not intercepted amongst the Kings Letters, but is otherwise attested.



His Majesties Answer to a Pamphlet , Intituled , A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, expressing their reasons and grounds of passing the late resolutions touching no further Adresse or Application to be made to the K I N G.

Published by His Majesties appointment.

I Believe that it was never heard of untill now , that heavy imputations were laid on any Man (I speake not, now, of Kings, which I confesse makes the case, yet,

yet, more strange and unjust) and He not permitted to see, much lesse to answer them: but so it is now with the KING, which does (though silently) yet subject Him to as great an Imputation, as there is any in the laid Declaration; for those who know no better, may think that He cannot, because He does not, Answer it: Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing these things better than every ordinary Man) to do my best, that the KING should not be injured, by the ignorance of His people: and albeit, I (lying under persecution, for my Conscience, and Love to Regall Authority) have not the means, in every thing, to make full Probations; yet, I am confident, in all the most material points, for to make the truth, of the KINGS innocency, appear, that I shall satisfie any impartial judicious Reader.

What the issue of former Addresses to the KING hath been, is most certainly known to all the World; but, where the Faults rest, whereby peace hath not ensued, bare Asseverations, without proofs, cannot I am sure, satisfie any Iudicious Reader. And indeed, it seems to me, that the Penner of this, seeks more to take the ears of the ignorant Multitude, with big words, and bold Assertions, than to satisfie rationally Men with reall proofs or true arguments. For, at the very first he begs the Question; taking it for granted, that the KING could ease the *sighs* and *groans*, dry the *teares*, and stanch the *blood* of his distressed Subjects: Alas! is it he that keeps Armies on Foot, when there is none to oppose? Is it He, that wil not lay down Excise, Taxations, & Free-Quaterings? But, it is He indeed, who was so far from power, even at that time, (being far worse since) that, in most things, He wanted the liberty of any freeborn man: It is He, who never refused to ease his people of their grievances; witness more Acts of grace passed in his reign, than (to speak within my compasse) in any five Kings

Kings or Queens times) that ever were before Him: moreover, It is He, who, to settle the present unhappy distractions, and (as the best means to it) to obtain a personall Treaty, hath offered so much, that (to say truth) during His owne time, He hath left Himself little more than the title of a KING; as it plainly appears by His Message from the Isle of *Wight*, concerning the *Militia*, and choosing the Officers of State, and Privy Counsellours; besides other points of compliance which it is needlesse here to mention.

Good God! are these *Offers unfit for them to receive?* Have they tendered such propositions, that might occasion the World to judge that they have yeilded up, not only their Wils and affections, but their reasons also, and judgments for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation? It is true, that if they can shew, what, reasonably they could have asked more; or, wherein the KINGS offers were deficient (either in point of security, or by withholding from any of His Subjects a jot of their just privileges) then, they said somewhat, to challenge belief: But, bare Asseverations, even against what a Man sees, will not get credit with any, but such who abandon their judgments to an implicit Faith: Nor can the determinations of all the Parliaments in the World make a thing just or necessary, if it be not so of it self: And can it be imagined, that any, who were ever acquainted with the passages at the Treaties of *Oxford* and *Vxbridge*, will believe (though it be said) that the propositions tendered at *Newcastle*, were the same in effect which had been presented to the King before in the midst of all His strength and Forces? Indeed me thinks such grosse slips as these, should at least, make a man be wary, how to believe such things, for which he sees no proofs: and yet it should seem, that a man must either take their words, for good payment, or remain unsatisfied for; a little after it is said,

said, That the Kings strange, unexpected, and conditionall Answers or Denials might justly have made them consider some other course for settling the Kingdom in peace and safety without any further application: but never shew, wherein the strangeness of His Answers or Denyalls consists: and I should think, that those Reasons, upon which the laying by of a KINGS authority is grounded (for it is no lesse) ought to be particularly mentioned, for the Worlds satisfaction, and not involved in generall big words: for it thereby seems, that it is their force of arms, more than that of Reason, which they trust to, for procuring of obedience to their Determinations, or belief to what they say: Otherwayes, can it be imagined, that their saying, That *their last Propositions were to be qualified, that (where it might stand with the publick safety) the wonted Scruples or Objections were prevented or removed*, can give satisfaction to any rationall man, who hath seen all their former propositions? For, it is most evident, that their demands have alwayes encreased with their good Fortune.

And for their great Condescension to a *Personall Treaty* (which under favour, can scarcely be called so; for the KING though he had granted what was desired, was not to come, neither to nor near *London*, but to stay in the Isle of *Wight*, and there to treat with Commissioners) upon signing the four Bills; Surely, they incurred therein, but little danger; for it is most evident, that they contain the very Substance of the most essentiall parts of their demands; which being once granted, the KING would neither have had power to deny, nor any thing left worth the refusing; for after He had confessed, that He had taken up Arms, to invade the Liberty of His people, (whereas it was only for the defence of His owne Rights) and had Likewise condemned all those, who had

had faithfully served Him, of Rebellion; and that He had totally divested Himself, His Heirs, and Successors for ever, of the power of the Sword; whereby the protection of His Subjects (which is one of the most essentiall and necessary Rights belonging to Regall Authority) is totally torn away from the Crown: and that by a silent Confession, He had done Himself and Successors, an irreparable prejudice concerning the great Seale (I speak not of the other two Bills, neither of which are of little importance) what was there more for Him to grant (worth the insisting upon) after such Concessions? or, indeed, what power was left Him to deny any thing? So that the KINGs necessity of giving the Answer He did (for it was no absolute refusall, is most evident; unlesse, Hee had resolved to have lived in quiet, without Honour; and to have given His people peace, without safety; by abandoning them to an arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houses, for ever, concerning the Levying of Land or Sea Forces, without stinting of Number, or distinction of persons; and for paymen's, to leavy such sums of monies in such sort, and by such wayes and means, as they shal think fit and appoint. And now I cannot but aske; is this the Militia that the KING contends for? or, did ever any King of *England* pretend to, or seek for such a power? surely no: But, this is a new *Militia*, and take heed, lest this should prove like the Roman *Prætorian Cohorts*, that what they did in choosing and changing Emperours, these do not to this Government, by moulding and altering it according to their fancies. Now, my eagerness to clear this point concerning the four Bills, had almost made me forget a most material Question: I wonder much wherein the danger consists of a personal Treaty with the KING, ever since He was last at *Newcastle?*

Newcastle? Surely He cannot bring Forces along with Him, to awe His two Houses of Parliament: and it is well known that He hath not Money to raise an Army: and truly, there is as little feare, that the eloquence of His Tongue should work Miracles; but on the contrary, if Hee were so ill a Man, as you describe Him to be, whatsoever He shal say or write, must more prejudice Him than you: for let Him never flatter Himself, it must be clear, not doubtfull, Reason, that can prevaile against that great visible prevailing power, which now oppresses Him: nor doe I say, it will; but certainly lesse can do it: Where is then the *Danger*! Believe it Reason will hardly maintaine those who are afraid of her.

After this, it is said, That *they had cause enough to remember, that the KING sometimes denyed to receive their humble Petitions*: but, they never tell, where, nor when, which, I am most confident, they cannot: but I am certaine, that the KING hath sent divers Messages of peace to them, unto which, He hath yet had no answer; namely, His last from Oxford of the 15 of January 1645. and all the rest since. As for the fight at *Brainford*, whosoever will read the Collection of the Declarations in print, upon that subject, will clearly find, that the KING hath more reason to complaine, that They under colour of Treaty, sought to environ Him with their Forces; than they, for what He then did; and His Retreat was neither for Fear, nor with Shame; for the appearing of the Enemy made Him retard, not hasten His Orders for retiring, which divers hours (before their appearing) He had given: which He did without any losse at all but (on the contrary) retreated with more Armes, eleven colours, and fifteen peeces of Ordnance (beside good store of ammunition) than He had before: and for Cruelty, there was not a drop of blood shed, but

but in the heat of the fight, for I saw above five-hundred prisoners; who (only promised *never after to bear Armes against the KING*) were freely released.

Again, they seem to have good memories, saying, *That the King once sent them a specious Message of renewing a Treaty, when at the same time, His Messenger was instructed how to manage that bloody massacre in London, which was then designed by vertue of the Kings Commission, since published.* And hath the King sent but one Message for the renewing of a Treaty? then what was that from *Tewkesbury* in August 1644. and five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this that is here mentioned, they knew not how to answer (for at that time, they knew not the way of silence) but by this forged accusation against the Messenger; who, I dare say, knew nothing of that, which might have been (at that time) intended for the Kings service, by some who had more zeal than judgment: But, that there was a *Massacre* intended, or that any *Commission* from the King, should countenance a designe, is a most notorious slander. As for the Kings mentioned Letter to the Queen; I am confident that any judicious Reader, will find the *Glosse* made upon it, very much wrested; And certainly all ages will think these Times very Barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt Man and Wife are published to open view: And in other Countries, there is such respect carried to private Letters of Princes, that (to my knowledge) the last Emperour in the greatest heat of the *Bohemian* war, having intercepted a Packet, wherein were private Letters to King *James* of blessed memory (who was then known no great friend to the Emperour) from his only Daughter, then avowedly the Emperours greatest enemy, yet he sent them to the KING, without the least offer of violence to the Seals.

And

And now I come to their determination upon the whole matter, what course they have resolved to take with the King? their words are, *But notwithstanding this and other former tenders, We have now received such a Deniall, that we are in despaire of any good by addressees to the King; neither must We be so injurious to the people in further delaying their settlement, as any more to presse His consent to these, or any other propositions:* Besides, it is resolved upon the Question, *that they will receive no more any Message from the King;* and do enjoyn, *that no person presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either Houses of Parliament, or any other person.* Thus you see, that the King is laid by; But that is not all; for, He must neither justifie His innocency against Calumny, nor is there any way left him to mend any error, that he may have committed: is this a just way of proceeding? when truth, though offered must not be heard; and that no way must be left to recant an error? And why all this severity? Because (as I have already shown you) the King will not injure his conscience or honour, nor suffer his people to be oppressed; to which they give the term of such a *Denial*, though really it was none. But since they seek thus to hoodwink the people, it is no great wonder, that they forbid the King to repent Him of those faults, which he never committed: and I believe all indifferent men, will easily judge of the Kings innocency, even by their way of accusation: For those who will lay such high crimes to His charge, as the *breach of Oathes, Vows, Protections, and Imprecations*, would not spare to bring their proofs if they had any: But on the contrary, it is known to all the World, that He had not suffered as He has done, if He would have dispensed with that part of His *Coronation Oath*, which He made to the Clergy; which is no great signe that he makes slight of His engagements; of which it is so universaliy known,

knowne, that He has been so religiously carefull, as I hold it a wrong to His Innocency; to seek to cleer Him of such slanders, for which there are no proofs alleged: for, Malice being once detected, is best answered with Neglect and Silence. And was there ever greater, or more apparent Malice, than to offer to put the horrid slander of Paricide upon Him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a Son to His blessed Father, as any History can make mention of? But indeed the losse of *Rochel* doth fitly follow; to shew, how Malice when it is at the hight, is ordinarily accompanied; for there are none but ignorant or forgetfull men, who know not that it was merely the want of assistance, from the two Houses of Parliament (contrary to their publick generall Engagement) that lost *Rochell*; and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French Occurrences) than, that reall assistance, which the KING to the uttermost of His power, gave to those of the Religion at that time, made the Cardinal of *Richelieu* an irreconcilable enemy to the KING; wherefore I cannot but say, that it is a strange forgetful boldness to charge the KING with that which was evidently other mens faults,

There are also other things, that, to any knowing Man, will rather seem jeers, than Accusations; as the *German Horse* and *Spanish Fleet* in the year 1639. But my affection shall not so blind me, as to say, that the KING never erred; yet, as when a just Debt is paid, Bonds ought to be cancelled: so Grievances be they never so just being once redressed, ought no more to be objected as Errors. And it is no Paradox, to affirm; that Truths, this way told, are no better than Slanders; and such are the Catalogue of Grievances here enumerated; which, when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found such as here they are described to be.

Now

Now as concerning those Discourses which mention the beginnings of these troubles, (which are in two severall places of this Declaration) I will onely say this; that what the KING did upon those occasions, was meerly to defend the Rights of His Crowne, which were and are evidently sought to be torne from Him; nor can I acknowledge all those Relations to be true, such as *private Levies of men, by popish Agents, Arming of Papists in the North, calling in of Danish Forces*, and the like: And as for the stale slander of *calling up the Northern Army*, now renewed, it is well known, that the two Houses (even at that time) were not so partiall to the KING, as to have concealed a practice of that kind, if they could have got it sufficiently proved.

But, if the *Irish Rebellion* can be justly charged upon the KING, then I shall not blame any for believing all the rest of the Allegations against Him; onely I protest against all Rebels Testimony, as good proof; it being most certain by experience, that they, who make no conscience of Rebelling, will make lesse of Lying, when it is for their advantage. And, it is no little wonder, that so grave an assembly as the House of *Commons*, should so sleightly examine a businesse of that great Weight, as to allege, that the *Scots Great Seal* did countenance the Irish Rebellion, when I know it can be proved, by Witnesses without exception, that, for many months before, untill the now Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all sealed by it: Nor concerning this great point will I only say, that the King is innocent, and bid them prove, (which, to most accusations, is a sufficient answer,) but I can prove that if the KING had been obeyed in the *Irish* affaires before He went last into *Scotland*, there had been no *Irish Rebellion*; and after it was begun, it had, in few months, been sup-

pressed, if His Directions had been observed; For if the KING had beene suffered to have performed His Engagements to the *Irish Agents*, and had disposed of the discontented *Irish Army*, beyond Sea (according to His contracts with the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors) there is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*; because, they had wanted both pretence and meanes to have made one: Then, when it was broken forth, if those vigorous courses had been pursued, which the KING proposed, (first to the *Scots*, then to the *English* Parliament) doubtlesse that Rebellion had been soon suppressed. But what He proposed took so little effect, that in many months after, there was nothing sent into *Ireland*, but what the KING Himself sent (assisted by the Duke of *Richmond*) before He came from *Scotland*, unto Sir *Robert Steward*; which though it were little, will be found to have done much service, as may be seen by the said Sir *Roberts* voluntary Testimony, given in writing to the Parliament Commissioners then attending the KING at *Stoak*. And certainly, a greater evidence for constancy in Religion there cannot be, than the KING shewed in His *Irish Treaty*; for, in the time that He most needed assistance, it was in His power to have made that Kingdom declare unanimously for Him, and have had the whole Forces thereof imployed in His Service, if He would have granted their demand in points of Religion, they not insisting in any thing of Civill government, which His Majesty might not have granted, without prejudice to Regall authority; and this can be clearly proved, by the Marquesse of *Ormonds* Treaties with the *Irish*, not without very good evidence by some of the KINGS Letters to the QUEEN, which were taken at *Naseby*, that are purposely concealed, lest they should too plainly discover

ver the **KINGS** detestation of that Rebellion, and His rigid firmnesse to the Protestant profession: Nor can I end this point, without Remarking with wonder, that men should have so ill memories, as again to renew that old slander, of the *Kings giving Passes to divers Paipsts, and persons of quality, who headed the Rebels*; of which He so cleared Himselfe, that He demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit no shew of proof could be produced for that allegation: as is most planly to be seen in the first booke of the Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. fol. 69. & 70.

Thus having given a particular Answer to the most Material points in this Declaration, the rest are such frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundlesse calumnies, that Contempt is the best Answer for them. Yet, one thing more, I must observe, that they not onely endeavour to make Fables passe for currant coin, but likewise seek to blind mens judgments, with false inferences upon some truths: for example: It is true, that *the KING hath said in some of His Speeches or Declarations, that He oweth an account of His actions to none but God alone; and that the Houses of Parliament joynt or separate have no power either to make or declare any Law*; But, that this is a fit foundation for all Tyrnany, I must utterly deny: indeed, if it had been said, that *the KING, without the 2 Houses of Parliament, could make or declare Laws*, then there might be some strength in the Argument; but, before this Parliament, it was never so much as pretended that either or both Houses, without the King, could make or declare any Law, and certainly His Majesty is not the first (and I hope will not be the last) King of England, that hath not held Himselfe accountable to any Earthly power; besides it will be found, that this His Majesties position is most agreeable

able to all Divine and Humane Laws; so far it is from being *Destructive to a Kingdom, or a foundation for Tyranny*. To conclude, I appeale to God, and the World, whether it can be paralleld by example, or warranted by Justice, that any man should be slandered, yet denied the sight thereof; and so far from being permitted to answer, that if He have erred, there is no way left Him to acknowledge or mend it; and yet this is the **KINGS** present condition; who is, at this time laid aside, because He will not consent that the old Fundamentall Laws of this Land be changed, Regal power destroyed, nor, His people submitted to a new Arbitrary Tyrannicall Government.



EIKON





The Explanation of

*Ponderibus genus omne mali, probriq; gravatus,
(Vixq; ferenda ferens, Palma ut Depressa, resurgo.*

*Ac, velut undarum Fluctûs Ventiq; , furorem
Irati Populi Rupes immota repello .*

*Clarior è tenebris , cœlestis stella, corusco,
Victor et æternum-felici pace triumpho .*

*Auro Fulgentem rutilo gemmisq; micantem,
At curis Gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.*

*Spinosam, at ferri facilem, quo Spes mea, Christi
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare molestum .*

*Æternam, fixis fidei, semperq; -beatam
In Cœlos oculis Specto, Nobisq; paratam.*

*Quod Vanum est, sperno; quod Christi Gratia prebet
Amplecti studium est: Virtutis Gloria merces .*

Τὸ Χρ̃̃ εὐδὲν ἡδίστον ἐστίν



of the EMBLEME .

*Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
Palm-like Depress'd, I higher rise .*

*And as th'unmoved Rock out-braves
The boistrous Windes and raging wave
So triumph I. And shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darksom night .*

*That Splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlessly I trample down .*

*With joie I take this Crown of thorn ,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born .*

*That heav'nlic Crown , already mine ,
I view with eies of Faith divine .*

*I slight vain things ; and do embrace
Glorie , the just reward of Grace .*

ωολιν, ὁδε τὸ Κάτωα .

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Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE
FOUR TRAICTURE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAJESTIE
IN
HIS SOLITUDES
AND
SUFFERINGS.

ROM.8.
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.



Reprinted
In R. M. An. Dom. 1648.

End of the world

FOR THE YEAR

MAY 1871

THE 20th

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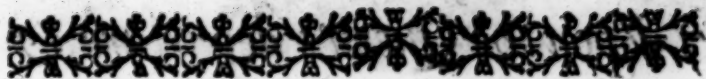
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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

I. *Upon His Majestie's calling this last Parliament.*

His last Parliament I called, not more by other's advice, and necessitie of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right waie of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which some men's distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which, by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet, resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by My freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with

some passion and prejudice in other men ; so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self ; not doubting , but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of anie Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in manie places ; yet, hoping that the gravitie and discretion of other Gentlemen would alliaie and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guideing some men's well-meaning zeal by such Rules of Moderation as are best both to preserv and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self ; who knowing best the largeness of My own Heart toward My People's good, and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between Mee and My People.

All jealousies beeing laid aside, My own and My Children's Interests gave Mee manie obligations to seek and preserv the love and welfare of My Subjects ; the onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and safetie, next God's protection. I cared not to lessen My self in some things of My wonted Prerogative, since I knew I could bee no loser,

fer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subject's affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to anie modest and sober sens.

The *odium* and offences which som men's rigor or remifness in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amifs in practice; but supplie what was defective in the constitution: No man haveing a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then My self; whom it most concern's both in Pietie, and Policie, as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which makes religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament bee convinced to bee amifs; and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Mee was fit to bee desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgment to have been over-born in som things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had less betrayed

betrayed My self and My Kingdoms to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins beeing ripe, there was no preventing of God's Justice from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Prosperitie.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to pleas thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which wee have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timelie repentance of our sins, thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies wee too late applie.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; becaus, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention, to Thy glorie, and My People's good.

The Miseries which have ensued upon Mee and My Kingdoms are the just effects of thy displeasure

sure upon us ; and may bee yet (through thy mercie) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enioie them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of manie former comforts, yet grant Mee and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements ; that thy rod, as well as thy staff, may comfort us : then shal wee dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemie, but a Father, when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becom's thy Children. I shall have no caus to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Mee and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins wee have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could bee with our sins.

O thou Soveraign Goodness and Wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels, over-rule also all our hearts, that the worst things wee suffer by thy Justice, the better wee may bee by thy Mercie.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poison, so let thy Grace turn our Poison into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappie War, so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though

(*though a Sinner*) for My Savior's sake, Amen.

2: Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death.

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to emploie him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings; and this was like enough to betraie him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good store, while mooving in so high a spheer, and with so vigorous a lustre, hee must need's (as the Sun) raise manie envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the necessities of Times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to anie height and rigor of actions: yet I could never bee convinced of anie such criminalousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that
unfortunate

unfortunate Earl : when, between My own unsatisfiedness in Conscience, and a necessitie (as som told Mee) of satisfying the importunities of som people, I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Mee well, to chuse rather what was *safe*, then what seemed *just*; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience with God.

And indeed I am so far from excuseing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenarie consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by anie clear Law, guiltie of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailtie, that it discovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whose name and place on Earth no man is worthie to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

¶ I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom.

Nor hath God's Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacie

fallacie of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people bee displeased, or destroyed.*

In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities; (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straford's* innocencie, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Mee, then I have don. since I gratified som men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Mee to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they. ~~Not~~ *Not* only hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Mee not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience: I hope God hath forgiv'n Mee and them the sinful rashness of that business.

To which, beeing in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Mee, are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercie hath sanctified so to Mee, as to make Mee repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Mee) and for the future to teach Mee, That the *best rule of Politie* is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments; and the peace of

My

My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath anie thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from Mee, to Acts, wherein My conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Mee, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Businels.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whose guiltlesness I was better assured, then anie man living could bee:

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convinceng satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the *Bill* passed that House. And for the House of Commons, manie Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Strafford's* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were (by posting their Names) exposed to the popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would

would have us) that manie ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurr with the condemning Partie, then satisfied, that of right they ought so to do.

And that after Act vacateing the Autoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, tell's the world, that som remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had verie hard measure, and such as they would bee verie loth should bee repeated to themselves.

This tenderness and regret I finde in My soul, for haveing had anie hand (and that verie unwillingly, God know's) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the color and formalitie of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs, which may (I hope) bee som evidence before God and Man, to all posteritie, that I am far from bearing justly that vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappie War, which som men will needs charge on Mee, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall bee, more afraid to take away anie man's life unjustly, then to lose mine own.

But thou O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Mee then anie man; since I had not the least temptation of envie, or malice against him,

him, and by My Place should, at least so far, have been a Preserver of him, as to have denied My consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledg My transgression, and My sin is ever before Me.

Deliver Me from blood-guiltiness O God, thou God of My salvation, and My tongue shall sing of thy Righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Yet cast Me not away from thy Presence. purge Me with the blood of My Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash Me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then Snow.

Teach Me to learn Righteousness by thy Judgments, and to see My frailtie in thy Justice: while I was perswaded, by shedding one man's blood, to prevent after-troubles: thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon Me, and upon My Kingdom, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make Me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrarie clamors, which are but discoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer Me for any Reason of State, to go against My Reason of Conscience; which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou see'st fit to deprive Mee of, yet restore unto Mee the joie of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Mee with thy free Spirit who subject's My will to none, but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion which shine's in My Soul: for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord, hear the voice of thy Son's, and My Saviour's Blood, which speak's better things: O make Mee and My People to hear the voice of Foie and Gladness, that the bones, which thou hast broken, may rejoice in thy Salvation.

3. Upon His Majestie's going to the House of Commons.

MY going to the House of Commons, to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an Act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and fears; yea, and manie of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then from Reason; and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought
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My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of displeasure or revenge against those men's persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms : of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under som men's own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so ; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise Jealousies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the Publick Peace ; which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal waie (which God knows was all My design) could have amounted to, no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Mee and My Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie ; or elf to have cleared their Innocencie, and remooved My suspicion : which, as they were not raised out of anie malice ; so neither were they in Reason to bee smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark

though I sought by all speedie and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersions which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Priviledg, is so false, that, as God best know's, I had no such intent: so none that attended could justly gather from anie thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of anie such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majestie and safetie of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more scared at My coming, then I was un-assured of not haveing some affronts cast upon mee, if I had none with mee to preserve a reverence to mee; for manie people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against mee, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that Business was this:

Those men and their adherents were then looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater protectors of their Iaws and Liberties, then My self, and worthier of their protection.

protection. I leav them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no present impunitie, or popular vindications of them will bee subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, wee must religiously appeal, as beeing an argument to us Christians of that after-unavoidable judgment, which shall rejudg, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavored to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which, I fore-saw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activitie (if not restrained) and so now hath don to the undoing of manie thousands; the more is the pittie :

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Autoritie by anie violent impressions upon them, was not at all My design : I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance : and I was resolved rather to bear the repuls with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art My witness in Heaven, and in My heart : If I have purposed anie violence or oppression against the Innocent ; or

if there were anie such wickedness in My thoughts.

Then let the enimie persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that see'st not as man see'th, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew thy self.

Let not My afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godlie men they cannot bee) anie argument of of my sin, in that matter; more then their Impunitie among good men is anie sure token of their innocencie.

But forgive them wherein they have don amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privie conspiracies, and open violence of bloodie and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of My heart, and the innocencie of My hands in this matter.

Plead My caus, and maintain My right, O thou that sittest in the Throne judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.

I Never thought anie thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in London and Westminster, soon after

ter the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea; (which yet want's not it's terror) but like an Earthquake, shaking the verie foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power set's bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less that hee restrain's the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation, then when hee suffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Autoritie.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting som Members of both Houses, as they fancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemlie deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague; but a quotidian Fever, alwaies increasing to higher inflammation, impatient of anie mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must bee a Guard against those fears which som men feared themselv's and

others withall, when, indeed, nothing was more to bee feared and less to bee used by wise men then those tumultuarie confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, a freedom of differing in Votes, and debateing matters with reason and candor) must bee taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses bee purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleas to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacie of men, resolved to discharge their Consciences, must bee subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must bee backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwiferie of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not staie the ripening and and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberate-ness befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Encouragers most fancied.

Yea,

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their out-rages, that no sober man could bee without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by som, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want anie thing hee most desired, for the Publick good, then obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But men's passions and God's directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have suteable engines; such as too much attend their own ends seldom confine themselves to God's means. Force must crowd in, what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, som men yet living are too conscous to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to bee used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage, when strong windes blow upon it, so, neither for multitudes to becom insolent, when they have Men of som reputation for parts and pietie to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, That manie Complaints beeing
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ing made, and Messages sent by My self and som of both Houses; yet no order for redress could bee obtained with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-spread disease and predominant mischief.

Such was som men's stupiditie, that they feared no inconvenience: Other's petulancie, that they joied to see their Betters shamefully out-raged and abused, while they knew their onelie securitie consisted in Vulgar flatterie; so insensible were they of Mine, or the two House's common Saferie and Honors.

Nor could ever anie Order bee obtained impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known *Bontefeus* and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had and used to convoke those Tumults, as their advantages served.

Yea, som (who should have been wiser States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goe's about seeking whom hee may deceiv, and devour.*

I confess, when I found such a deafness, that no Déclaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My self could take place
for

for the due suppression of these Tumults, and securing, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Persons in the streets; I thought My self not bound, by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts: I hoped, by my with-drawing, to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and other's regaining som degrees of modestie and sober sens.

Som may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie for anie man for popular terrors to desert his Publick Station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea, which to resist, at present, threaten's imminent danger; but to withdraw, give's it space to spend its furie, and gain's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderlie waie, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Som suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) God know's, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceiv, that I would, by so manie former and som after-Acts, have so much weakned My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War,
which

which to decline by all means, I denied My self in so manie particulars : 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Mee, or anie other, for with-drawing our selvs from the dailie baittings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high, as to worrie and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but plaied with in their paws ? God, who is My sole Judg, is My Witness in Heaven, that I never had anie thoughts of going from My House at *White-hall*, if I could have had but anie reasonable fair Quarter : I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majestie of My Place and Person, the safetie of My Wife and Children to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capeable of their rudeness and petulance.

But this business of the Tumults (whereof som have given already an account to God, others yet liveing know themselvs desperately guiltie) Time and the guilt of manie hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leav it, as it is : onely, I believ the just Avenger of all disorders will in time make those men, and that Cittie see their sin

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in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-laie that they may one daie see themselvs punished by that waie they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in it's first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses beeing left to their freedom of Voteing, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it; but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plantations; so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone somtimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to anie other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have don) the sad consequences in all likelihood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in anie place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee must leav all to God, who order's our disorders, and magnifie's his wisdom

wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are com in upon Mee, and are readie to overwhelm Mee.

I look upon My sins, and the sins of My People, (which are the tumults of our Souls against thee O Lord) as the just caus of these popular inundations, which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyaltie, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the drie land to appear, and after didst asswage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy Power; rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver Mee from the rudeness and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us the freedoms of our Councils and Parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion; and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becom's Men and Christians; so shall wee praise thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy Omnipotent Justice can, and will.

O Lord, give them, that are yet living, a timely sens and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest

knowest guiltie of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter bee their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason; to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duely executed, and to our Schisms by Charitie, that wee may bee, as thy Jerusalem, a Cittie at Unitie in it self.

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Iesus Christ's sake, Amen.

5. Upon His Majestie's passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments. And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THAT the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could, to the Happie success of this Parliament, (which had in mee no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent anie distempers from getting anie head of prevailing; especially, if the remedie proved not a diseas beyond all remedie.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde
work

work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagin that som men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well don to their hands. Such is som men's activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it; and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scantie to satisfie som men's fears, and to compass Publick Affairs, I was perswaded to grant that *Bill of Sitting* during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted, in som men's sens, to as much as the perpetuateing this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as som men have now requited Me.

True: it was an Act unparalell'd by anie of My Predecessors, yet cannot in reason admitt of anie worst interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to denie My self in so high a point of Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should bee worst by
My

My bettering theirs : Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if som men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My interest lie's more then anie man's, since by those Laws, My Rights, as a KING, would bee preserved no less then my Subject's; which is all I desired. More then the Law giv's mee I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Som (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented mee of that settling *Act*: and manie would needs perswade mee, I had caus'd so to do: but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honor; That the more I granted them, the less I should have, and enjoie with them. I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Mee with increas of it; when Men shall have more leisure, and less prejudice: that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princelie then friendlie contributions

butions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now onely miserable in this, That some men's ambition will not give them leav to enioie what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honor and love to Mee, or My Posteritie, as may fully compensate both the Acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them; which (God know's) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular pietie and religious strictness.

The injurie of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load Mee withall, as if I were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subject's miseries, while (as they confidently, but (God know's) falsely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavored by force and open hostilitie to undo what by My Royal assent I had don. Sure it had argued a verie short sight of things, and extream fatuitie of minde in Mee, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God know's, though

though I had then a sens of injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented anie indignities put upon Mee, or others, was I then in anie capacitie to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike waie upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of people, that I could not have giv'n My Enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Mee, then, by so unprincelie Inconstancie, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God know's, I longed for nothing more then that My self, and My Subjects might quietly enioie the fruits of My manie condescendings.

It had been a Court full of sin, as well as of hazard, and dishonor for Mee to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which

I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subject's content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie : If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sinceritie and uprightnes of My own heart, in passing that great *Bill*, which exceeded the verie thoughts of former times, That although I may seem a less Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I anie reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Mee down head-long; concluding, that without a Miracle, Monarchie it self, together with Mee, could not but bee dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgiye, and make them see at length, That as manie Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could bee at once enjoied by them) are not worth the gaining, by the waies of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazard's a soul worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved Mee, and made Mee to see; That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to
do

do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot saie properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorry other men's eies should bee evil, because Mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darkneses of their hearts.

Thou gavest Mee a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will bee don, though never so much to the crossing of our's, even when Wee hope to do what might bee most conformable to thine and their's too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach Mee wisely to enjoye as well the frustrateings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allaye other's fears, I have raised Mine own; and by settling them, have unsettled My Self.

Thus have they requited Mee evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, bee thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admit's My return to the Port whence I set out, nor My making anie other, with that safetie and honor which I designed.

'Tis easie for thee to keep Mee safe in the love and confidence of My People; nor is it hard for thee to preserv Mee amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too manie, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon Mee, as to bee able to pervert and abuse My Acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Mee can make others more guiltie then My self may bee, of mis-using those manie and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Mee.

I beseech thee, give Mee and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as wee may not abuse.

Make Mee so far happie, as to make a right use of other's abuses, and by their failings of Mee, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other men's sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may bee happie to emojie the comfort of thy mercies, which often rais the greatest sufferers to bee the most glorious Saints.

6. Upon His Majestie's retirement from Westminster.

WITH what willingness I with-drew from *Westminster* let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinkeing on a Lee-shore.

I staid at *White-hall*, till I was driv'n away by shame more then fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand anie thing, and not leav either My self, or the Members of Parliament, the libertie of our Reason and Conscience to denie them anie thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might bee content to bee over-voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by anie Law or reason conclusive to My Judgment; nor can they include, or carrie with them My consent; whom they represent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with

the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the general good of My People. I see that as manie men they are seldom of one minde; and I may oft see, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes; how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so manie Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all; If som men's Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bountie was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it cease's to bee Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuarie patrons shall project. Hee deserv's to bee a slave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereignie of his Soul, and libertie of his Will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preserv them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becaus it belong's to Mee as
a Man,

a Man, and a Christian; owning the Dictates of none, but God; to bee above Mee, as obligeing Mee to consent. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of *England* to bee bound by anie Coronation-Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever it's Subjects in *Parliament* shall require, as some men will needs infer; while, denying Mee anie power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Mee of the libertie of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoie proportionable to their influence on the Publick; who would take it verie ill to bee urged, not to denie, whatever My self, as King, or the House of Peers with Mee, should not so much desire, as enjoin them to pass. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People, with the House of Peers, have chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously

Scientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Religion, bid's Mee denie.

Yet so tender I see som men are of their beeing subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of another's will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonor and absurditie they make the King the onely man that must bee Subject to the will of others, without haveing power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by anie Representation.

And if My dissentings at anie time were (as som have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness; and what they call Obstinacie in Mee (which not true Judgment of things, but som vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badg and Method of Slaverie; by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Error and Passiō dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serv those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavor's to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follow's

follow's what hee take's for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argue's rather those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsels and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied anie thing that was in a fair waie, after full and free debates propounded to Mee by the two Houses, further then I thought, in good reason, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever pleas Mee more, then when My Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in manie things where not absolute and moral necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience in point of Honor was to bee considered, I chose rather to denie My self, then them: as preferring that which they thought necessarie for My People's good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can bee content to recede much from

from My own Interests and Personal Rights, of which I conceive My self to bee Master; but in what concern's Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (which I am bound to preserv as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fixt and resolute, nor shall anie man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Like; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denie before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of Lead; whose embased flexibleness shall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in stead of Reason and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the interest of Parties, and flow's from the partialities of Private Wils and Passions.

I know no resolutions more worthie a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O My God, preserv thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believe is thy will that wee should maintaine: who, though

though thou do'st justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to thine, whose Wisdom and Goodness can neither err, nor misguid us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to thy Sacred Mysteries and Commands, that wee should believ and obeie, rather then dispute them; yet do'st thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoineest us to trie all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgments approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set mee, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call mee.

My People can witness how far I have been content, for their good, to denie My self in what thou hast subjected to My disposal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of some men's immoderate demands ever betraye mee to that degenerate & unmanlie slavery, which should make mee strengthen them by My consent in those things which, I think in My Conscience, to bee against thy glorie, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own dutie in Reason and Justice.

Make mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities

nities and injuries they press upon Mee, rather then commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of My People bee (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal waies, without the slaverie of My soul.

Thou that hast invested Mee by thy favors in the power of a Christian King, suffer Mee not to subject My Reason to other men's passions and designs, which to Mee seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serv thee in the truth and uprightness of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I bee driv'n from among them, yet give Mee grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Mee in the waie of Truth and Justice; for these, I know, will bring Mee at last to peace and happiness with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviour's sake.

7. Upon the Queen's departure and absence out of England.

ALthough I have much caul to bee troubled at My Wife's departure from Mee, and out of My Dominions; yet not her absence so much, as the scandal of that
necessitie,

necessitie, wch drive's Her away, doth afflict Mee. That Shee should bee compelled by My own subjects, and those pretending to bee Protestants, to withdraw for Her safetie: This beeing the first example of anie Protestant-Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: for I look upon this now don in *England*, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire beeing ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein wee differ.

Which yet God can, and, I pray, hee would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to bee anie obstruction to Her judgment; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to bee imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am forrie My relation to so deserving a Ladie should bee anie occasion of Her danger and affliction: whose merits would have served Her for a protection among the sa-

vage

vage *Indians*; while their rudeness and barbaritie know's not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some men's subtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault, is that Shee is My Wife.

All Justice then as well as affection command's Me to studie Her Securitie, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to bee tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrack't, so as Shee may bee in a safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enioie by Her safetie in the mid'st of My Personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if Shee bee preserved: In whose memorie and hopeful Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should bee satiated with My blood.

I must leav Her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries don to Them, by those, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie: Nor can it bee safe (for anie relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are shakeing hands
with

with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pittie so noble and peaceful a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her sympathie with Mee in My afflictions, will make Her Virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights: and assure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindness of the Generalitie, and Vulgar; for Wee see God is pleased to trie both Our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of Our bread, and beeing enriched with Our bountie, have Scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of our own Household are becom Our enemies. I praie God laie not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to dutie, by their *Corban* of Religion: and can less indure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policie of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessarie to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: lest by the influence of Her

D

example

example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyaltie as a Subject, shee should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyaltie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The les I may bee blest with her companie, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Mee of the enjoiment of her virtues, while I enioie my self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present see's fit to scatter us; let thy mercie, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it bee thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserv us from the hands of our despiteful and deadlie enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though wee differ in som things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporal infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace everie Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou would'st have us to know, in order to thy glorie, our publick relations, and our soul's eternal good, and make us careful to do what good wee know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be known

known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what mee know, bee our miserie, or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with mee, bee anie hinderance to her love of anie Truth thou would'st have her to learn, nor anie hardning of her in anie error thou would'st have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other men's constancie bee an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, bee represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyaltie, Charitie, and Peaceableness, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Noveltie, Crueltie, and Disloyaltie, which som men's practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truthes, as Thine; that shee may believ, love and obeie them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth shee may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serv thee in all those Holie duties, which most agree with his holie doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie, and greatness

in Our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make Us both so much the more ambitious to bee invested in those durable Honors, and Perfections, which are onely to bee found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. Upon his Majestie's repuls at Hull; and the fates of the Hothams.

MY repuls at Hull seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyaltie, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Effaie to bee made, how patiently I could bear the loss of My Kingdoms.

God know's, it affected Mee more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee so much as their sin, which admitted no color or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I fore-saw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this unworthie act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to over-spread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwaies bee seconded with words; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of som men; whose words were sometime smother then oil, but now I saw they would proov verie Swords.

Against which, I haveing (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Mee by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or saie anie thing unbeseeming My self, or unfuteable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becom's a Christian, as comming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majestie of one might justly abhor, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth

to forgive. Keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excels injure's a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded and avenged My caus, in the eie of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with som remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroak and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by anie language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldest Son's heads, as forfeitures of their disloialtie, to those men, from whom surely heemight have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they, who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercie enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For Apostacie unto Loy-
altie

altie som men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitarie vengeance serv the turn; the cutting off one head in a Familie is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Common-weal. The eldest Son must bee involved in the punishment, as hee was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrie: Root and Branch God cut's off in one daie.

These observations are obvious to everie fancie: God know's I was so far from rejoicing in *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, beeing executed by them who first employed him against Mee) that I so far pittied him as I thought hee at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope other men do in the same Cause.

For hee was never thought to bee of that superstitious sowness, which som men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darken's their judgment that they cannot see anie thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use with intents to reform to their Models what they call Religion, who think all in gold of pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another

other temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which make's Mee more pittie him, is, that, after hee began to have som inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his dutie to Mee, hee should bee so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiv'n him, as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For I think clemencie a debt, which wee ought to paie to those that crave it, when wee have caus to believ they would not after abuse it; since God himself suffer's us not to paie anie thing for his mercie but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, hee is now becom a noteable monument of unprosperous Disloyaltie; teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it; and those oft proov the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imploiers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*,
though

though 'tis certain that no punishment so stain's a man's Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brand's, with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie; who, not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a waie avenged thy Servant, suffer Mee not to take anie secret pleasure in it; as his death hath satisfied the injurie hee did to Mee, so let Mee not by it gratifie anie passion in Mee, lest I make thy vengeance to bee Mine, and consider the affront against Mee, more then the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without anie desire or endeavor of Mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to com down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded My Caus, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast don it.

I do not, I dare not saie, So let Mine enemies perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it bee thy blessed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie; yea, let them live and amend

amend who have most offended Mee in so high a nature ; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majestie, which, I hope, thy mercie hath forgiv'n Mee.

Lord laie not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunder-bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, bee a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have don amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That, preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the stroaks of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercie and truth, meeting together ; let My Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear My praier, O Lord, who hast taught us to praie for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake ; who hath prevented us with offer- tures of thy love, even when wee were thine ene- mies ; and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when wee were disposed to crucifie him.

9. *Upon the lifting, and raising Armies
against the KING.*

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Mee to leav *WhiteHall*: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must; which is but Tumults lifted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may bee conquered.

And so I easily may as to anie outward strength, which, God know's, is little or none at all; But I have a Soul invincible, through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am sure to bee Conqueror, if God will give Mee such a measure of Constancie, as to fear him more then man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

And must I bee opposed with force, becaus they have not reason wherewith to convince Mee? O My Soul! bee of good courage; they confess their known weakness, as to truth and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receiv for those manie Acts of Grace I have lately passed; and for those manie Indignities

ties I have endured ? Is there no waie left to make Mee a glorious K I N G, but by My sufferings ?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that love's his People, and desire's their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War, in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years liveing and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied ? Notwithstanding som miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsell of som men driveing on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the publick should bee managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie, I hope, of My self, either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reigne have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousness ? What Widow's or Orphan's tears can witness against Mee, the just crie of which must now bee avenged with My own blood ? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of Persons.

In

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so manie hands are armed against Mee with Swords.

God know's how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Mee; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which (to manie men) seem's rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or make causes of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Priviledg.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience; however som men are not willing to beleev Mee, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first with-drew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allaiie the insolencie of the Tumults, of the not suppressing of which no account in Reason can be giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted but onely to oppress both Mine and the Two Houses freedom of Declaring and Voteing according to everie man's Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that

that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another.

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of *Parliament*?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threatened to bee their Oppressors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom, so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the publick odium was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could bee heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houses, had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the waie open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences, I know no man so dear to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or denie appearing, upon their Summons; to whose Sentence according

ding to Law (I think) everie Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timelie repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancie and cautiousness, further then this I did never allow anie man's refractoriness against the Priviledges & Orders of the Houses, to whom I wished nothing more, then Safetie, Fulness, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to bee of contrarie mindes to their purposes.

How oft was the business of the Bishops enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried
for

for them by far the Major part of Lords: Yet after five repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner was the *Bill* against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuarie Clamors, and schismatical Terrors; which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialtie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, My conscience forbids mee by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazard My Own, and My Kingdom's ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks or pretend's, they cannot do God and the Church no greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and antiently Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other men's Judgments binde them to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the abolishing of, Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My Judgment, have also a most strict and indispen-
fable

stable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church, to which most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie; most unbecoming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent bee betrayed, I should have infinitely greater miserie, then and hath, or can befall mee, inasmuch as the least sin hath more evil in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti Episcopall Faction at first in this point, with My Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues to the fure of their Covetousness, Ambition, and Revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Armie to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honor, for My sake, and the Commonwealth, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to mee, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot add My Consent to the total Extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think

Religious and Apostolical (and foreris Sacred and Divine) as not to be dispensed with, but observed; when what is only of civil Favor, and Priviledge of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled. In This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Amity to the Parliament; when I call God to witness, I know not of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a Wang bee-ing noisy. Such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My Own and other mens Consciences. I agree it has not led to Afterwards indeed a great show of Delinquents was made, which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others, with drawing from, or defence against violence, but these could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Whereas I was so far from preventing them (as they have declared often) that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part; and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them; when as, God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the Libertie of the Houses so vindicated, that all

Members

Members of either House might with Honor and Freedom, becoming such a Senate, have com^d & discharged their Consciences; I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired, this being My necessitie driving, the other My choice desiring.

But some men knew I was like to bring the same Judgment and constancie, which I carried with Me, which would never fit their designs; and so while they invited Me to com^d, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exeters, which drove My self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet, in all Reason and Honor, they were as loth to have deferted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to perleeue them with the injuries of an Armie, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Armie against Me, is by

the sequel so evident, that all other pretenses vanish. For, when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them, there was nothing of consequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as anie original difference in anie point of Law, or order of Justice. But, among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged; The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things, at anie time propounded, were either impertinent, as to anie ground of a War, or easily granted by Mee, and onely to make up a number; or else they were meerly consequential, and accessarie, after the war was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, whom the noise and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily to fill with prejudice, that all equallie and clearness of judgment might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Armie, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent; and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God know's) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the world from having anie preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the mid'st of all the unfortunate

fortunate successes of this War on My side, I do not think My Innocencie anie whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, see'st clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgmt.

O My God, the proud are risen against Mee, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after My soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are manie, and they hate Mee with a deadly hatred without a caus.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then anie, and could gain least of anie by it.

Thou, O Lord, art My witness, how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessitie thereof, wherein I cannot well bee thought so prodigally thirstie of My Subject's blood, as to venture My own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroye My People.

O Lord, I need much of thy Grace, with patience to bear the maine afflictions thou hast suffered from men to bring upon mee; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who, not content that I suffer most by War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or giv'n just Cause to raise it.

The Confidence of some men's fals Tongues is such, that they would almost make mee suspect My own Innocencie: Yea, I could bee content (at least by My silence) to take upon mee so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of My Enemies, and redeem My People from this miserable War, since thou, O Lord, knowest My Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloodie and deceitful men; manie of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the People that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of Mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroye My Person, or force My Judgment,

ment, and to make Mee renege My Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to cross, David's choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their Mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience. I will in that against thee, who art a consuming fire. Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldst have Me. I see thou art the defender of My Soul, and wilt save the upright in heart. If nothing but My blood will satisfy My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdom, on thy Temporal Justice, I leave it to thy will, that it be shed by Mine own Subjects hands. But, O let the blood of Me, though by their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of My Innocent and Peace-making Redeemer; for in that thy Justice will finde not onely a temporarie expiation, but an eternal-plenary satisfaction; both for My sins; and the sins of My People, whom I beseech thee still own for thine; and, when thy wrath is appeased by My Death, O Remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them; O My Father, for they know not what they do.

10. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Ports, Navie, and Militia.

How truly I am charged with the first raising of an Armie and beginning this Civil war, the eies, that onely pittie Mee, and the Loyal hearts that durst onely praie for Mee at first, might witness, which yet appear not so manie on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Mee; My unpreparedness for a war may well dis-hearten those that would help Mee; while it argues (truly) My unwillingness to fight, yet it testifies for Mee, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their preration.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Mee, and surprizals of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not bee for Mee, so over-aw'd is their Loyaltie by the other's numbers and terrors. I believ My Innocencie, and unpreparedness to assert My Rights and Honor make's Mee the more guiltie in their esteem; who would not
so

so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They know My chiefest Arms left Me, were those onely, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Praiers and Tears. These may serv a good man's turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*, is so far best for Me, That it may drive Me from putting anie trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast My self into the protection of the liveing God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by manie.

Hee that made the greedie Ravens to bee *Elias's* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprizal of outward force and defens an opportunitie to shew Me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own protections as My People's.

Their manie and sore oppressions grieve Me; I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Praier.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolv their riddle of
Makeing

Making mee a glorious King, by taking a way My Kinglie power; Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, Being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other. Things thus or now show

For thus have they designed and proposed to mee the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, so, without anie realitie of power, or without anie necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of England might hereafter hang like Mahomet's Tomb, by a Magneticke Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aerie imagination of Regalitie. Things yet as they are now to be

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which former men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long, make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant Militia sought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure My friends, and overcome Mine enemies; to gain the Peace of all, by depriving My self of a sole power to help, or hurt anie: yeelding the Militia (which is My undoubted Right no less then the Crown) to be disposed of as the

two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them of Mee; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self; I desire not to bee safer then I wish them and My People: If I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My self so far, as to bee able to defend My good Subjects from those men's violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designs; will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to bee trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Mee, and employed against Mee and them, that neither can bee safe if both bee not in such a waie, as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to som men, which seem to bee Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enioie it's just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which

which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honor and Justice, due to My Successors, forbid Mee to yeild to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and dutie (no less then Justice and Honor) should have forbid them to have asked of Mee.

For, although I can bee content to Eclipse My own beams to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs bee scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kinglie Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Mee; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never bee prejudiced or obstructed by anie Act of Mine; which indeed would not bee more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leav in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to bee ever subjected to those manie factious distractions, which must needs follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it make's a shew to the people to have more eies to foresee; so they will finde, it hath more mouths, too, which must bee satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrousitie,

strositic, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: where counsell may bee in manie as the senses, but the Supreme Power can bee but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that bodie, which as the Moon receiveth it's chiefest light from Mee) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Rights in the Power of the *Milina* to com short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for My People's protection; I conceiv those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compel Mee to take this new and strange waie of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it, or protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonor, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil war and advantages of Power cannot bee effected but by som side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of God's protection (arising from a good

good conscience, doth more invite mee, then can bee expected from other men's fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so necessary) yet dare not adventure their Autors upon anie other waie of safetie, then that of the Sword and ~~Military~~ which yet are but weak defenses against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will over take, or of men's own Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I do not think that I can want anie thing which Providential Necessitie is pleased to take from mee, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and Gods glorie, whose protection is sufficient for mee; and hee is able, by his being with mee, abundantly to compensate to mee, as hee did to Job, whatever honor, power, or libertie the *Chaldeans*, the *Sabians*, or the Devil himself can deprive mee of.

Although they take from mee all defense of Arms and ~~ammunition~~ all refuge, by Land, or Ports, and Castles; all flight, by Sea, in My Ships and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob mee of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive mee of My own Innocencie, or Gods Mercie, nor obstruct My waie to Heaven.

Therefore,

Therefore, O My God, to whom I fly for help; if
thou wilt be on My side, I shall have more with
me then can be against me. There is more in Heaven,
where I desire to be, than in the Earth, where I
am. Thou more then all canst see. I have no power
to oppose them that are against me; who are
encouraged to fight under the pretence of
fighting for Me. But My Mercies are
infinite.

Thou see'st I have no power to oppose them that
are against me; who are encouraged to fight un-
der the pretence of fighting for Me. But My Mercies
are infinite.

Thou needest no help; yet I may have
need. If thou wilt, I will be thy helper. I will
behold thee, and will be reduced to
what thou wilt have Me; whose Judgments of
Righteousness shall be done.

I am confident, O Lord, that thou wilt
be on My side. Thou hast taught me, that no King can be
saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou
canst save Me by the multitude of thy Mercies,
who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of
the Mercies.

Help Me, O Lord, who am fore distressed on
every side; yet be thou on My side, and I shall not
fear what man can do unto Me. I will give thy
Justice the glorie of My
Distress.

O Let thy mercie have the glorie of My deliverance, from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against thee; and robbed thee of thy glorie, who art thy Subject, and justly mayst thou by My own Subjects strip mee of My strength, and eclips My glorie.

But shew My selfe O My hope, and my refuge! Let not Mine enemies saie, There is no helpe for him in his God.

Hold up My goings in thy paths, that My footsteps slip not.

Keep mee as the apple of thine eye, hide mee under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindness, O thou that sailest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppress mee, from My deadly enemies that compass mee about.

Shew mee the path of life. In thy presence is fulness of ioye; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the KING; and more afterwards.

Although there bee manie things, they demand; yet, if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safetie, and

and My People's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honor. If nothing elf will satisfie, I must chuse rather to bee as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish Mee.

Som things here propounded to Mee, have been offered by Mee; Others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to bee obtruded upon Mee, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can bee no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are manie things required of Mee, but I see nothing offer'd to Mee, by the waie of grateful exchange of Honor; or anie requital for those favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Mee, to put Mee on the giving part, which is more Princelie and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserv to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience; and not bee forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Som things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Mee, and while I have anie Masterie of My reason, how can

they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding so much (as I have already) make's some men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Mee; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by God's grace) dearer to Mee then My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policie are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest hee should seem not to dare to denie anie thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to binde My self to a general and implicite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from anie Free-man; nor fit to be required of anie man, much less of a King by his own Subjects: anie of whom hee may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as hee doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented

ted, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his own hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safetie mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroe him, when hee was becom so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seem's an arrogancie, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addressees in an humble and loyal waie of Petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferioritie, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior think's fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason to Consent, or Dissent; els it were verie foolish and absurd to ask, what another, having not libertie to denie, neither hath power to grant.

But if this bee My Right belonging to Mee, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honor, as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it bee other then extream injurie to confine My Reason to a necessitie of granting all they have a minde to ask? whose mindes may bee as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may bee, and their qualities are; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguish't, ma-

king Mee their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessarie impositions upon the Regal Authoritie. Since no man seek's to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Mee trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations som have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of Mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to anie men's dictates, and at once to betraye the Sovereigntie of Reason in My Soul, and the Majestie of My own Crown to anie of My Subjects.

Least of all have I anie ground of credulitie to induce Mee fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and other's fitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience

rience of one seven years hath shewed Mee, how well they can Govern themselvs, and so much power as is wrested from Mee, I should bee verie foolish indeed, and unfaithful in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whose forwardness to asscend the Throne of Supremacie portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phaëus*: God divert the *Omen*, if it bee his will.

They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to bee My Counsellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extend's to recommend their advice, not to command My Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent Mee, I expected either som good Laws, which had been antiquated by the cours of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or som evil customs preter-legal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or som injuries don by My self, and others, to the Common weal, were to bee repaired; or som equable offer- tures were to bee tendred to Mee, wherein the advantages of My Crown, beeing considered by them, might fairly induce

Mee to condescend, to what tended to My Subject's good, without anie great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde Mee (in the first place) to preserv: without which 'tis impossible to preserv My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserv the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without anie regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet anie thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must bee destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the other's Institution, and also supplie its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men; not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special pietie, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptness and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observ little of these kindes, or to these ends: Nothing

thing of anie Laws dis-jointed, which are to bee restored; of anie right invaded; of anie justice to bee un-obstructed; of anie compensations to bee made; of anie impartial Reformation to bee granted; to all, or anie of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or anie other humane motives might induce Mee.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which is either great novelty, or difficultie, I perceiv that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanitie, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible novelty of som Propositions (there beeing nothing so monstrous, which som fancies are not prone to long for.)

This cast's Me into, not an Admiration, but, an Extasie, how such things should have the

fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am verie confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single and apart did approov or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remain's in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government and the Mis-government; the Primitive Pattern's and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies,

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrarie) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquitie, to the Pietie of their reforming Progenitors, to the Prosperitie of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulitie (believing that all is Gold, which is guilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgment to bee drawn into the common
sewer

fewer or stream of the present vogue and humor; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamors and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite Activitie of those men, who studied, with all diligence and policie, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever bee back't and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person; yet the first shall never overcome Mee, further then I see cause: for I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults; (which can bee no other then the Hounds that attend the crie and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factions, and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgment tell Mee, that the Propositions sent to Mee were the Results of the Major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a

right to sit in Parliament, I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with everie one of them.

For I have charitie enough to think, there are wise men among them; and humilitie to think, that, as in som things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a completeness and inerrabilitie as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that Part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honor to preserv, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is necessarie in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth anie one complete and autoritative Act of Publick wisdom, which make's the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of som Propositions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joint and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For manie of them favor verie strong of that old leaven of Innovations masked under the name of Reformation; which, in My two last famous Predecessor's daies, heaved at, and somtimes threat'ned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure, was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobilitie

litie and Gentrie of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likeliē so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choise of manie Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; som thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Mee, My Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bid's Mee impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the manie-headed, and manie-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honor, and Safetie both of Church and State command Mee, to chew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitness of My Conscience will not give Mee leav to swallow down such Camels of Sacriledg and Injustice both to God and man, as others do; they have no more caus to quarrel with Mee, then for this, that My throat is not so wide as their's. Yet, by God's help, I am resolved, That nothing of Passion, or Peevishness, or List to contradict, or Vanitie to shew My Negative power, shall have

have anie bias upon My judgment, to make Mee gratifie My will, by denying anie thing, which My Reason and Conscience command's Mee not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honor, and Religion perswade Mee, to bee for God's glorie, the Church's good, My People's welfare, and My own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament and My People ; but I will never, for fear, or flatterie, gratifie anie Faction, how potent soever ; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppress the bodie.

Although manie men's loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving Mee that free and faithfull counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want ; yet none can hinder Mee from craving of the counsel of that mightie Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline My heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotencie, furnish thy Servant, first, with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My understanding: then so confirm My will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions of My Enemies may ever enforce Mee against those rules, which thou

thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest Mee a King, that I should be less then a man; and not dare to saie, *Yea*, or *Nay*, as I see caus; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason and libertie of speech.

Shall that bee blameable in Mee, which is commendable veracitie and constancie in others?

Thou see'st, O Lord, with what partialitie and injustice they denie that freedom to Mee their KING, which thou hast giu'n to all Men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselvs; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priuiledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who can'st guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other men's proposalls; which, I have som caus to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might bee more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Mee.

O Lord, make thy waie plain before Mee.

Let not My own sinful passions cloud or diuert thy sacred suggestions:

Let thy glorie bee My end, thy word My rule; and then thy will be don.

I cannot pleas all, I care not to pleas som men; If I may bee happie to pleas thee, I need not fear whom I displeas.

Thou

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devices such as are wise in their own conceits, make Mee wise by thy truth, for thy honor, My Kingdom's general good, and My own soul's salvation, and I shall not much regard the world's opinion or diminution of Mee.

The less wisdom they are willing to impute to Mee, the more they shall bee convinced of thy wisdom directing Mee, while I denie nothing fit to bee granted, out of crosnesse or humor; nor grant anie thing which is to bee denied, out of anie fear or flatterie of men.

Suffer Mee not to bee guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconsiderate advancing anie men's designs, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by My consent.

Nor let Mee bee anie occasion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is best, by anie morose or pervers dissentings.

Make Mee so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to bee for publick good; of whose affections to Mee I have yet but few evidences to assure Mee.

Thou canst as well blest honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since wee must give an account of everie evil and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; Lord make Mee careful of those solemn Declarations of My minde, which are like to have the greatest influence

influence upon the Publick, either for wo, or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make Mee the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My people's pressures are grievous, and peace would bee verie pleasing; yet, Lord, never suffer Mee to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expens or waste of My Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master then My self.

12. Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THE Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or applie a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown anie man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom God shall finde the malicious Autor or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie advantage to som men's malice against Mee; that when they had impudence enough to laie anie thing to My charge, this bloodie opportunitie should bee offered them, with which I must bee aspersed: Although there was nothing
which

which could bee more abhorred to Mee, bee-
ing so full of sin against God, disloyaltie to
My self, and destructive to My Subjects.

Som men took it verie ill not to bee be-
lieved, when they affirmed, that what the
Irish Rebels did, was don with My privitie
(at least,) if not by My Commission: But
these knew too well, that it is no news for
som of My Subjects to fight, not onely with-
out My Commission, but against My Com-
mand and Person too; yet all the while to
pretend, they fight by My Autoritie, and for
My Safetie.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to
allegd for their imitation against those,
whole blame must needs bee the greater, by
how much Protestant-Principles are more
against all Rebellion against Princes, then
those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of
men's intentions excuse the scandal and con-
tagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward
Mee, I must bear the blame; this Honor My
Enemies have alwaies don Mee, to think mo-
derate injuries not proportionate to Mee, nor
competent trials, either of My patience under
them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they
have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsitie
and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction;
Charging

Charging mee not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reason, and Religion, having least caus to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like som Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serv to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of My own Subjects; in whose common welfare My interest lie's as much as som men's doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times; nor so cunningly as in laying the *Odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselvs are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And, certainly, 'tis thought by manie wise men, that the preposterous rigor and unreasonable severitie, which som men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, despair beeing added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke, to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough

to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by som Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of libertie; both to exempt themselvys from their present restraints, and to prevent those after-rigors, wherewith they saw themselvys apparently threat'ned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of som men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God know's, as I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocencie, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were everie daie inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing elf, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England* som men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with *Ireland's* sad estate then My self; I offered to go My self in Person upon that expedition; But som men were either afraid
I should

I should have anie one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to shoot at anie mark here less then My self; or that anie should have the glorie of My destruction, but themselves. Had My manie offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruine had been so great; nor the calamitie so long; nor the remedie so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, their's must needs bee, who either hindered the speedie suppressing of it by Domestick dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threat'ning all extremities, not onely to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Resolving to destroe Root and Branch, men, women, and children, without anie regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which Conquerers, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecillitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in
G 2 their

their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Citties, for the repulſ or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob's* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacie, then to applie moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſom with exemplarie Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of Mercie upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them from the furie of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they reſuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſom kinde of zeal count's all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſs; and had rather bee cruel, then counted cold; and is not ſeldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his ſkin, then for anie harm hee hath don. The conſiſcation of men's Eſtates beeing more beneficial, then the charitie of ſaving their Lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred and over-born with numbers of now-deſperate Enemies) were diverted and obſtructed here, I was earneſtly entreated and generally adviſed, by the chief of the Proteſtant partie there, to get them ſom reſpite and breathing by a Ceſſation; without which they ſaw no probabilitie (unleſs by miracle) to preſerv

serv the remnant that had yet escaped : God know's, with how much Commiseration and solicitous Caution I carried on that business, by Persons of Honor and Integrity, that so I might neither encourage the Rebel's insolencie, nor discourage the Protestant's Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the best sort that the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in My Reputation and Honor; becaus I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not bee so much to the Rebel's advantages (which som have highly calumniated against Mee) as it might have been for the Protestant's future, as well as present safetie; if, during the time of that Cessation, som men had had the grace to have lai'd *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and lai'd aside those violent motions which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulitie in men to what is fals and evil, then love or charitie to what is true and good)

as I have no Judg but God above Mee, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore denie My Innocence, becaus he is pleased so far to trie My patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to My own Conscience, and the faithful discharge of My Trust as a K I N G ; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of som men's mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak or sparks do out of a fornace; Much less to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who, conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loth to believ anie man not to bee as bad as themselfs.

'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsly saie. And, I hope, I shall still do better then they desire, or deserv I should.

I believ it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil My other Kingdoms, are in great part guiltie; if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timelie stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My enemies pleas to saie or think) I look upon, as that of My other
King-

Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins ; no man beeing so much weak'ned by it, as My self : And, I hope, though men's unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length sale to his justice, *It is enough* : and command the Sword of Civil Warrs to sheath it self : His merciful justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure ; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve should bee restored.

Thou see'st how much crueltie among Christians is acted under the color of Religion ; as if wee could not bee Christians, unless wee crucifie one another.

Because wee have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charitie, thou hast suffered a spirit of error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein wee have sinned ; and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance bee our recoverie, as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries, I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered, seem small to thee : but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are repre-

sented in the glass of thy judgments; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe Afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies; pardon our sins, and remoov thy Judgments which are verie manie and verie heavie.

Yet let our sins bee ever more grievous to us, then thy Judgments; and make us more willing to repent; then to bee relieved; first give us the Peace of penitent consciences, and then the Tranquillitie of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviour's blood drown our sins; and, through this red sea of our own blood, bring us at last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As My publick relations to all make Mee share in all My Subject's sufferings; so give Mee such a pious sens of them, as becom's a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Mee bee as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give Mee grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted My three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved:

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them

them with rebellious and destructive principles ; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice bee against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Malitious ; Thou that had'st pittie on Nineveh for the manie Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness make's them cruel ; nor to their anger, which is too fierce ; and therefore justly cursed.

Preserv, if it bee thy will, in the mid'st of the fornace of thy severe Justice a Posteritie which may praise thee for thy Mercie ;

And deal with Mee, not according to man's unjust reproaches, but according to the innocencie of My hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the woful daie of My Kingdom's calamities ; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloodie distractions ; then let thy hand bee against Mee, and My Father's hous. O Lord, thou see'st I have enemies enough of men ; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on Mee and Mine, if My Conscience did not witness My Integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well ; But I
trust

trust not to My own merit, but thy mercies ; spare us, O Lord, and bee not angrie with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Comming.*

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereigntie, and Bountie, with My Father of blessed memorie ; but also special and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed, to manie, to prefer the desires of that Partie, before My own interest and Honor. But, I see, Royall bountie embolden's som men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charitie, and Act of Pacification forbid's Mee to reflect on former passages ; wherein I shall ever bee far from letting anie man's ingratitude or inconstancie make Mee repent of what I granted them for the publick good : I praie God it may so proov.

The comming again of that Partie into *England*, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselvs.

Other

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloodie Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice, I leav to their Consciences to judg, who have already felt the miserie of the means; but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosness of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they crie up, as the onely just reformation and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and, was by them imagined would have don in *England*, when so manie of the *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal and pious Discretion, for anie forreign State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselvs have used, rather successfully

fully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know anie such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications, then those of an Armie, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformatiōns by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergie must conform to the *Scot's* pattern before ever they could bee heard what they could saie for themselvs, or against the other's waie.

I could have wish'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other men's Consciences too, who can receiv little satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Souldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion those truths gain most on men's Judgments and Consciences,

ences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weaken's Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to bee used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemn men's obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so manie learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, beeing alwaies bred up & conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becaus that Partie of the *Scots* will needs by force assist alike Partie here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie; or destroe them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were prooved to bee the onelie institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches-Government; yet I believ it would bee hard to proov, that Christ had given those *Scots*, or anie other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in anie of my Kingdoms, without My Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pai'd to the chief Governors of States, where they lived, is verie clear in the Gospel; but, that hee, or they ever commanded

manded to set up such a paritie of Presbyters, and in such a waie as those *Scots* endeavor, I think is not verie disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie bee an institution of Christ; sure it differ's from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianitie, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion run's in a stream so contrarie to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianitie and Episcopacie, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other men's. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousness or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never anie thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Armie or Commissioners to moov Mee with, by their manie Solemn obtestations and pious threatnings, but onely this; to represent to Mee the wonderful necessitie of setting up their Presbyterie in *England* to avoid the further miseries of a War; which som men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinder's that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but number, strength
and

and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence: all which Presbyterie seek's to suppress and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian waie; both as to the Antient, and still most Universal waie of the Church-government; and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to bee for Mee, till I see more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carrie in their Knapfacks.

But wee must leav the success of all to God, who hath manie waies (having first taken us off from the follie of our opinions, and furie of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to God's glorie, and his Church's good; which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State; the glorie of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of men's Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may anie men, I think, without sin and

pre-

presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other men's Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or unsettle My Religion; nor anie man's elf, who know's what Religion mean's, and how far it is remooved from all Faction; whose proper engine is Force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselvs, that they care not what cost they laie out upon their opinions; especially those that have som temptation of gain to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scot's* Armie's comming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so manie obligations of dutie and gratitude to Mee, then I wondered, how those here could so much distrust God's assistance; who so much pretended God's Cause to the People, as if they had the certaintie of som divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished
with

with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition;
My Navie by Sea; My Forts, Castles; and
Cities by Land.

But those that men jealous of the Justifi-
ableness of their doings and designs before
God, never think they have humane strength
enough to carry their work on, seem it never
so plausible to the People; what cannot be
justified in Law or Religion, had need be for-
tified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancie that at-
tend's all mindes engaged in violent motion,
that whom some of them one while earnestly
invite to come in to their assistance; others
of them soon after are wearie of, and with
nauseating cast them out: what one Partie
thought to rivet to a settledness by the
strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the
other reject's and contemn's; at once, despis-
ing the Kirk-Government and Discipline of
the *Scots*, and frustrating the success of so
chargeable more then charitable assistance:
For, sure the Church of *England* might have
purchased, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and
happines of Reformed Government and Di-
scipline (if it had been wanting) though it
had entertained the best Divines of Christen-
dom for their advice in a full and free Synod,
which I was ever willing to; and desirous
of, that matters beeing impartially settled,

no less

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might

might bee more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice, and man's follie will at length bee discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; in vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruines of Loyaltie. Nor can those confederations or designs bee durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretent of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of Scotland never deserted Mee, so I cannot think that the most are gon so far from Mee, in a Prodigalitie of their love & respects towards Mee, as to make Mee to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Mee, all Reason and true Politie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to anie Partie of the People; to a neglect and betraying of My safetie and Honor for their own advantages. However, the less caus I have to trust to men, the more I shall applie My self to God.

The troubles of My Soule are enlarged; O Lord, bring thou Mee out of My distress. Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pi-ous simplicitie, which is the best policie.

Deliver

Deliver Mee from the combined strength of those who have so much of the Serpent's subtiltie, that they forget the Dove's Innocencie.

Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, can'st turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou did'st the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancie and eagerness pursue Him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightness in Mee, and I shall not despair of my Subject's affections returning towards Mee.

Thou can'st soon cause the over-flowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let Mee not bee ashamed, let not My enemies triumph over mee.

Let them bee ashamed who transgress without a cause; let them bee turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integritie and uprightness preserve Mee, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

Ed 2

Upon

14. Upon the Covenant.

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to bee hired at the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where manie engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacie; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, (with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) must by so solemn a charm and exorcism bee cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in this Island; and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches, since the Apostle's times, till this last Centurie.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it: Presbyterie, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to bee in the Bishop's Chair & Autoritie (though Lay-men go awaie with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately buoyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with manie passages

sages in that Covenant (som referring to My self with verie dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to bee engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessitie; but verie disputable, and controverted among learned and godlie men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment, and certaintie in one's self, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion require's, which never refuse's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoining of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things unlawful, damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessarie duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Protestation, which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they account Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have lai'd snares & gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for, by such politick and seemingly-pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacie fast to their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselvs sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My consent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, bee ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolv or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of durie, which lie upon all My Subject's consciences both to God and Mee.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Mee, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in such men's intentions, was, to preserv Religion in Puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselvs engaged; nor will those, that have anie true touches of Conscience endeavour to carrie on the best designs, (much less such as are, and will bee daily

daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant : unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and sworn duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My self.

I am prone to believ and hope, That manie, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which make's such Confederations by waie of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to bee suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church : where formalities of extraordinarie zeal and pietie are never more studied and elaborate, then when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws ; which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the humors of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holie Combinations.

Which cords and withs will hold men's

Consciences no longer, then force attend's
and twist's them: for everie man soon grow's
his own Pope, and easily absolv's himself of
those ties, which not the commands of God's
Word, or the Laws of the Land; but onely
the subtiltie and terror of a Partie cast's upon
him; either superfluous and vain, when they
were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent
and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they
finde the imposers really aiming to dissolv, or
suspend their former, just, and necessarie ob-
ligation.

Indeed, such illegal waies seldom, or never,
intend the engaging men more to Duties; but
onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded
how they keep their Covenants in point of
pictie pretended, provided they adhere firmly
to the Partie and Design intended.

If see the Imposers of it are content to make
their Covenant like Manna (not that it came
from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to everie
man's palat and relish, who will but swallow
it: They admit anie men's senses of it, though
divers, or contrarie; with anie salvo's, cauti-
ons and reservatons, so as they cross not the
Chief Design which is laid against the
Church, and Mee.

It is enough if they get but the reputation
of a seeming encreas to their Partie; so little
men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe manie that love mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to set clearly against both all pietie & loyaltie: who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for anie value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some general Clauses may (perhaps) serv somewhat to relieve them; as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God*: for, these (indeed) carrie no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of men's duties:

I would to God such as glorie most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best waie to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Autoritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually bee carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive
such

such men's taking the Covenant, who keep it with in such bounds of Pietie, Law, & Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretend's, I cannot think it just or comly, that by the partial advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting & compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should bee cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never don (that I have heard) by anie that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candor at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before anie men's now factiously engaged.

No man can bee more forward then My self to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advise) bee, by God's Word, and right reason, convinced to bee amiss; I have offered more then ever the fullest, free'st, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of som men's actions make's it evident, that the main Reformation intended,

ded, is the abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, then the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deer, must bee destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. beeing lean, may enioie the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's Vineyard* made him the onely Blasphemer of his Cittie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fill's the Sails, Profit is the Compass, by which Faction men steer their cours in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man laie more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Church's Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserv and use, not onely what the pious Munificence of My Predecessors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive mee

or Mine to invade or sell the Priest's Lands; which both *Pharaoh's* divinitie, and *Joseph's* true pietie, abhorred to do: so unjust I think it, both in the eie of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred emploiment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encreas the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as som have don, to the red sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteem's it His greatest Title to bee called, and His chiefest glorie to bee, *The Defendor of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just frutions; equally abhorring Sacriledg and Apostacie.*

I had rather live as My Predecessor *Henrie* the third somtime did, on the Church's Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Bishop's and Minister's mouths.

The next work will bee *Feroboam's* reformation; consecrating the meanest of the People to bee Priests in *Israel*, to serv those golden Calvs who have enriched themselves with the Church's Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests & People, is well enough known: And so it will bee here, when, from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall bee at their allowance, who have already discovered

covered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will bee.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Church's Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as praie God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no less then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it beeing everie man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would bee a Restorer of the one, so I would not bee an Oppressor of the other, under the pretens of Publick Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would bee much worse; I praie God neither I, nor Mine, may bee accessorie to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I address My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of My Subject's Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of
this

this Kingdom have lai'd upon their Consciencēs; from which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolv them, or to engage them to anie contrarie practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can bee religious.

Thou allowest no man's committing Sacriledg, under the Zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are Holie, and after Vows to make inquirie.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posteritie of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bountie hath giu'n us, and thy clemencie accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Increased, yet never suffer mee to bee tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will bee hardly quenched.

Let not the debts & engagements of the Publick, which some men's follie & prodigalitie hath contracted, bee an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in
times,

times, where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glorie, and the relief of the poor; that thy Priests may bee clothed with righteousness, and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee giu'n to Swine, nor the Church's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the Cittie, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those Sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor their's; let them bee as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their Mouths, rottenness to their Names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded together against the Church and State; that the fallie of such may bee manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favor My righteous dealing, O Lord, that, in the Mercies of thee the most High, I may never miscarrie.

15. Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the People against Him.

IF I had not My own Innocencie, and God's protection, it were hard for Mee to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supplie the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justify so unjust Engagements against Mee.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie com short of these designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crowns, then My Credit, nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life, but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gone: A good Name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie.

Those foul and fals aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies, and their's too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Mee, as the sin and danger of My people's souls; whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions; wherein they do not only not consider their sin and danger, but glorie in their zealous adventures; while I am rendered to them so fit to bee destroyed, that manie are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pittie was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Mee, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors, more then their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person, and intended to mend Mee, not to end Mee: And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as hee hath yet preserved Mee, so hee hath by these afflictions prepared Mee, both to do him better service, and My people more good, then hitherto I have don.

I

I do

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal Injurie; then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generalitie of My people; to suspect theirs to Mee; nor shal the malice of My Enemies ever bee able to deprive Mee of the comfort, which that confidence give's Mee; I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few with anie sinister thought of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst som men's ambition can do, shall never perswade Mee to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subject's actions; who possibly may bee Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The sens of the Injuries don unto my Subjects is as sharp, as those don to My self; our welfares beeing inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by som seducers to injure at once both themselvs and Mee.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I bee afflicted; but it must bee don by such instrument's, that My afflictions griev Mee not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly

ly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have borne it; but they must bee My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Mee: and for the restoring of whose tranquillitie, I could willingly bee the *Jonah*; if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrarie windes, the storm of their miseries would bee rather increased then allaied.

I had rather prevent My people's ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happiness; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die manie deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betraie My own just Rights and Sovereigntie; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other men's mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Ma-

lions persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit everie man's fancie; and what their repoaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serv Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leisure to answer the manie fals Aspersions which som men have cast upon Mee.

Did I not more consider My Subject's Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have giv'n the malice of som men that pleasure, as to see Mee take notice of, or remember what they saie, or object.

I would leav the Autors to bee punished by their own evil manners and seared Consciences, which will, I believ, in a shorter time then they bee aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and fals Scandals which they have cast on Mee; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie, (I need not saie Loyaltie) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long bee quite blasted by the breath of that same fornaice of Popular obloquie and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of insanie, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honor.

First,

First, nothing gave Mee more caus to suspect and search My own Innocencie, then when I observed so manie forward to engage against Mee, who had made great professions of singular pietie; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Mee, and My Caus, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Mee, and not withal part from God; to think or speak well of Mee, and not to blaspheme him, so manie were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Mee, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) manie with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein som men glorie so much) who were so well satisfied in the caus of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Mee, then forsake Mee. Not is it strange that so Religious Pretensions, as were used against Mee, should bee to manie well minded men a great temptation to oppose Mee; Especially, beeing urged by such Popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Caus; cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used,

nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamors & activitie.

It was a great part of som mens Religion to scandalize Mee and Mine; they thought theirs could not bee true, if they cried not down Mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more triall of this grace, as to the constancie of My Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give My Conscience leav to approve, or consent to those manie dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of som men would needs obtrude upon Mee, and My People.

Contrarie to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession & Constitution of this Church in *England*; which manie former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing

lieving it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Papists, which were My Subjects, anie waie fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they emploied, or what they said, & did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would bee esteemed, should not conceiv, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of dutie, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they owe as men, and Christians, to God: the second, they owe to Mee in common, as their K I N G. Different professions in point of Religion cannot (anie more then in civil Trades) take away the communities of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *opinio* or medly of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with Mee) without anie scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinons?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would bee counted Protestants, to enforce Mee, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessarie use of Papists, or anie other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to defend My self.

Nor did I more then is lawful for anie King, in such exigents to use the aid of anie his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sens of their Allegiance, then manie Protestant-Professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unreasonabie scruple in mee, (and verie pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Sword's points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no less then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My *Evil Counsellors* was another useful devise for those, who were impatient anie men's counsels, but their own, should bee followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving mee better counsel, that they would not give mee leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honor, as a King; making their counsels more like a Drench that must bee powred down, then a draught which might bee fairly and leisurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie, beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellors: They might bee subject to som miscarriages,
yet

yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then these enormous extravagances; wherewith some men have now even wild red, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects; that, had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to mee, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms; to such a Chaos of confusions and Hell of miseries; as some have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either don or advised amiss; and this I thought I had don, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were for me to see mee prone even to injure My self; out of a zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other men's insatiable desire of revenge upon mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractions; or Concessions; and, withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors)

tors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to bee relieved; then bee revenged, so as to bee bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attend's humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to with-draw My People's affections from Mee, to their designs, was, The noise and ostentation of *Libertie*, which men are not more prone to desire; then unapt to bear in the Popular sense; which is to do what everie man liketh best.

If the Divineſt libertie bee to will what men should, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion, I en-vie not My Subjects that libertie, which is all I deſire to enjoine My ſelf; ſo far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing their's; Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Mee ſo prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitions and Covetous deſigns over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their

Orna-

Ornament and Protection; others their Ma-
nacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just anie man should expect the
reward and benefit of the Law, who despise
it's rule and direction; losing justly his
Safetie while hee seek's an unreasonable Li-
berty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that
those are the best preservers of their true Li-
berties, who allow themselves the least hom-
tiousness against, or beyond the Laws. They
will see it at last to their cost, that it is
impossible those men should be greatly
tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who
have the hardihood to use their King with so
severe restraints against all Laws, both Di-
vine and Humane; under which, yet they will
rather perish, then complain to those, who
want nothing to complete their mischief and
triumph; but such a mischief as will

In point of true conscientious tenderness
(attended with humilitie and meekness, not
with proud & arrogant activitie, which seek's
to hatch every egg of different opinion to a
Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how
little I desire My Laws and Scepter should
intrench on God's Sovereigntie, which is the
only King of men's consciences; and yet hee
hath laid such restraints upon men, as com-
mand them to be subject for Conscience
sake,

fake giving no men libertie to break the Law
established, further then with meekness and
patience they would content to suffer the penal-
ties abuxked, rather then perturb the Publick
Peace.

The truth is, some men's thirst after Novelties,
other's despair to relieve the necessities of
their Fortunes, or Satisfie their Ambitions, in
peaceable times, (distrusting God's provi-
dence, as well as their own merits) were the
secret (but principal) impulsives to these Po-
pular Commotions, by which Subjects have
been perswaded to expend much of those
plentiful estates they got, and enjoined under
My Government, in peaceable times, which
ye must now be afflicted with all the odious
reproaches, which impotent malice can in-
vent; and My self exposed to all those con-
temptis, which may most alienate the Maje-
stie of a King, and increase the ungrateful in-
solence of My People.

For My Honor; I am well assured, that
as My Innocence is clear before God; in
point of ancient liberties they object; so My
Reputation shall, like the Sun (as Ows and
Bats have had their freedom in the night and
darker times) rise and recover it self to such a
degree of splendor, as those feral birds shall
be grieved to behold; and unable to bear.
For never were any Princes more glorious,
then

then those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the furnace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who know's but the just and merciful God will do Mee good, for sommen's hard, fals, and evil speeches against Mee; wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believ, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire, in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) as those men do, who, pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetful of their Dutie to God and Mee; By no waie ever vindicating the Majestie of their KING against any of those, who contrarie to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honored with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should not Honor their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majestie, in comparison of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscuritie, yet hath hee graven such Characters of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able

to

to hide the shining of My face, while God give's Mee a heart frequently and humbly to convers with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glorie and majestie.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonor, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach Mee all the day long, and those that are mad against Mee are sworn together.

O My God, how long shall the sons of men turn My glorie into shame? how long shall they love vanitie, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on everie side. Hold not thy peace, lest My enemies prevail against Mee, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhor both blood-thirstie, and deceitful men.

Make My righteousness to appear as the light, and Mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun at noon daie.

Suffer not My silence to betraie Mine innocence, nor My displeasure My patience; That, after My Saviors example, beeing reviled, I may not revile again; and, beeing cursed by them, I may bleß them.

Thou that would'st not suffer Shimei's tongue

to go unpunished ; when by thy judgments on David hee might seem to justify his disdainful reproaches, give Mee grace to intercede with thy mercie for these My enemies ; that the reward of fals and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not bee brought upon them.

Let My prayers, and patience, bee as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let Mee bee happie to refute, and put to silence their evil-speaking by wel-doing, and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My praier for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach Mee David's patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercie through man's malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as My humble praier to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward Mee.

Though they curse, do thou bless, and I shall bee blessed, and made a blessing to My people.

That the stone, which som builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save Mee, from the reproach of them that would swallow Mee up.

Hide Mee in the secretes of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep Mee from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-
Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations usher-
ed in with the name of Reformation in
Church and State, by those, who, seeking to
gain reputation with the Vulgar for their ex-
traordinarie parts and pietie, must needs undo
what ever was formerly settled never so well
and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that studie
Novelties allow former times anie share or
degree of wisdom or godliness.

And becaus matter of praier and devotion
to God justly bears a great part in Religion,
(beeing the Soul's more immediate convers
with the Divine Majestie) nothing could bee
more plausible to the People then to tell
them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms of
constant Praiers must bee not amended (in
what upon free and publick advise might
seem to sober men inconvenient for matter
or manner, to which I should easily consent)
but wholly cashiered and abolished; and,
after manie Popular contempts offered to the
Book, and those that used it according to
their Consciences and the Laws in force, it
must bee crucified by an Ordinance, the
better

better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluencie; or others, who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words, beeing known and fitted to men's understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see anie reason why Christians should bee wearie of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the Constancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and usefulness.

I could never see anie Reason, why anie Christian should abhor, or bee forbidden to use the same Forms of praier, since hee praie's to the same God, believ's in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, read's the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feel's the same dailie wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know what wee praie, as to whom wee praie; and in what words, as to what sens; when wee desire the same things, what hinder's wee may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may bee good when wee use, as wee praie for, *Our dailie bread.*

Som men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely dis-use (as too manie) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lord's Praier*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of men's abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expressions, in Publick Praier, or anie Sacred Administrations, merit's a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor are men in those Novelties less subject to formal
and

and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but men's hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may bee verie formal in the most extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of varietie, then of constancie: Nor are constant Forms of Praiers more likelie to flat and hinder the Spirit of Praier and Devotion, then un-premeditated and confused varietie to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave; modest, discreet, and humble use of Minister's gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own, and the People's affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessitie why private and single abilities should quite juttle out, and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of manie learned and godlie men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason bee thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advise, such Forms of praiers, as may best fit the Church's common wants, inform the Hearer's understanding, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consist's the verie life and soul of praier, and that so

much pretended Spirit of Praier) then anie private man by his solitarie abilities can bee presumed to have ; which, what they are manie times (even there, where they made a great nois and shew) the affectations, emptiness, impertinencie, rudeness, confusions, flatness, levitie, obscuritie, vain and ridiculous repetitions ; the senseless, and oft-times blasphemous expressions ; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glorie in that Pharisaick waie. Wherein men must bee strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselvs, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and saie, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and, indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it bee expected, but that, in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental administrations, and the like, which are still the same, Ministers must either com to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to bee so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the dutie, as forms of Publick composure ; or els they must everie time affect new expressions when the subject is the same ; which can hardly bee presumed in anie man's greatest sufficiencies not to want (manie times) much of that compleatness, order, and gravitie,

tie, becomming those duties; which by this means are exposed at everie celebration to everie Minister's private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgment, and expression.

A serious sens of which inconvenience, in the Church, unavoidably following everie man's several manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and pietie of the Antient Churches, to remedie those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick compofure.

The want of which I believ this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of manie men's un-govern'd ignorance, and confident defects, shall bee discovered in more errors, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are alreadie but too manie, the more pittie.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those Innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbid, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the Publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used, and maintained the Service book; or, refusing to use it, cried out of the rigor of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the li-

bertie of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I saie) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a *Directorie*, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serue to delude the vulgar) That further, they should use such severitie as not to suffer, without penaltie, anie to use the Common-Praier-Book publickly, (although their Consciences binde them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.) —————

Thus I see, no men are prone to bee greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful Constitutions; and whose licentious humors most pretended Conscientious liberties; which freedom, with much regret, they now allow to Mee, and My Chaplains, (when they may have leav to serue Mee,) whose abilities, even in their extemporarie waies com's not short of the other's, but their modestie and learning far exceed's the most of them.

But this matter is of so Popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and
sober

sober debates, lest, being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driv'n either to sin more against their knowledg, by taking awaie the Liturgie; or to displeas som faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believ they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estate, but for their weightie and judicious pietie, then those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it awaie.

One of the greatest faults som men found with the Common-Praier-Book, I believ, was this, That it taught them to praie so oft for Mee; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to saie *Amen*, nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Mee in their own forms, in stead of praying for Mee.

I wish their Repentance may bee their onely punishment; that, seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the antient Churches were giv'n to Set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

And thou, O Lord, who art the same God, blessed for ever; whose mercies are full of varietie,

and yet of constancie; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sens of our old and dailie wants; nor despisest renewed affections joined to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers bee agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervencie of our spirits to the motions of thy holie Spirit in us.

And then wee doubt not, but thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to bee pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancie of our petitions in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no where either forbidden, or commanded, but left them to the pietie or prudence of thy Church, that both may bee used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consist's in Noveltye & varietie, as Truth's in unitie and Constancie; Suffer not thy Church to bee pestered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretens of varietie and noveltye; Nor to bee deprived of truth, unitie, and order,
under

under this fallacie, That Constancie is the Cause of Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then wee know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, and other holie men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will bee less to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

Of the differences between the KING and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government,

TOUCHING the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath beene, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Pietie, as Policie and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Mee to approve that Government above anie other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless hee hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers

Ministers tongues; who with the Keies of Heaven have so far the Keies of the People's hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratorie to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyaltie.

So that, beeing (as KING) entrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken, by anie change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The mooving Bishops out of the Houf of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off anie suspicion, that I incline to them for anie use to bee made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought anie Bishop worthie to sit in that Houf, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charitie bee thought desirous to preserv that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both My judgment is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, & also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; til, of late years, the tumultuariness of People, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of som States and Princees, gave occasion to som men's wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christ's Government,*

Scepter,

Scepter, and *Kingdom*, the better to serv their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give Mee leav, having none of their temptations to invite Mee to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believ their pretended grounds to anie new waies; contrarie to the full, and constant testimonie of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successors the first & best Bishops, so it cannot in reason or charitie bee supposed, that all Churches in the world should either bee ignorant of the Rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holie pattern : That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one Example can bee produced of anie settled Church, wherein were manie Ministers and Congregations, which had not som Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universal practise agreeing with so large and evident Scripture-directions & examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothie* and *Titus*, for the settling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothie* and *Titus*, but in the succession;
the

(the want of Government beeing that, which the Church can no more dispens with, in point of wel-beeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of beeing.) I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eie upon Bishop's power and autoritie, as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, and Apostolical constitution; which to mee seem's no less evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the settling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Autoritie in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiastical discipline, then those shorter characters of the qualities & duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in som parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and communie of the name were then, and may now not improperly bee call'd *Bishops*; as to the over-sight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothie* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinarie power, there assigned over large divisions, in which were manie Presbyters.

The humilitie of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Church's stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that

that special dignitie which hath extraordinarie call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ; they contented themselves with the ordinarie titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until *Use* (the great Arbitrator of words, and Master of language) findeing reason to distinguish, by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinarie and constant power of governing the Churches, (the honor of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined, all Christian Churches submitting to that special autoritie) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without anie suspicion or reproach of arrogancie, to those, who were by Apostolical propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had manie such holie Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothie* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who, not enduring sound doctrine and clear testimonies of all Churches's practice, are most pervers Disputers,

ters, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacie : who, if they bee not Traitors and Boasters, yet they seem to bee verie covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselvs, having much of the form, little of the power of Godliness.

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlaie and smother the pregnancie and autoritie of that power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince ; that Posteritie may see (if ever these Papers bee publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiastical Examples, whereon My judgment was stated for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it anie Policie of State, or obstinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to the men, or their Function, which fixed Mee, who cannot in point of worldlie respects be so considerable to Mee, as to recompens the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations with My Kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scripture

pture is the best Rule, & the Church's Universal practise the best Commentarie, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee thought that an orderlie Subordination among Presbyters or Ministers, should bee anie more against Christianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Governments, where Paritie breed's Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believ, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likelie that God, who appointed severall Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church amongst the Jewish Priests, should abhor, or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the Principles of Schism and Division, as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom (which was Divine) after that Christians were multiplied to manie Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this waie of Government, which might best preserv Order and Union with Autoritie.

So that I conceiv it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Autoritie

ritie they constantly used and enjoied in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidencie and Autoritie in one man, by the joint-Counsel and consent of manie Presbyters : I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to anie one man : also to avoid Tyrannie, which becom's no Christians, least of all Church-men ; besides, it will bee a means to take away that Burden and *Odium* of Affairs, which may lie too heavie on one man's shoulders ; as, indeed, I think it formerly did on the Bishop's here.

Nor can I see what can bee more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magisterial ; and wherein not onely the necessitie of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function ; but also the difference of som Minister's gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to emploie them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Episcopacie, anie pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit anie oppositions against

it :

it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other waies can saie against this, or for their's: And I finde, as they have far less of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason; so of examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories they are wholly destitute; wherein the whole stream run's so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for anie others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for manie retein Bishops still) whom necessitie of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformitie to all Antiquitie; I could never see anie reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should bee forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Antient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this daie, who, Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are manie more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to bee; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize, (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it anie point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as manie do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a

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handfull of som Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince them of their Errors in som points of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade, that, to complete their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolical: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks, (except those Aërians) have strayed from the Unitie, and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laitie of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconstancie is a great prejudice against their Noveltie; I cannot in charitie so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrarie to their Consciences; So that their facilitie and levitie is never to bee excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had anie free and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not only quite cried
down

down the government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and manie other Church-men, of all their due Autoritie and Revenues, even to the selling awaie, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from anie Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalencie of parties, over som men's judgments; of whose so sudden and so total change little reason can bee giv'n, besides the *Scot's Armie* comming into *England*.

But the follie of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacie will appear the greatest Enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest: for Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Episcopacie. All Ministers will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcass they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacie they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive

Episcopacie, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle and practice all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Autoritie, Civil Honor, and Estate, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and pietie, who are fit to bee in anie degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charitie & Hospitalitie; meet strengthenings of their Autoritie in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly paled to anie Governors by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their Estates: Povertie and meanness exposing them and their Autoritie to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthie of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at anie time My judgment of men failed, My good intention made My
error

error venial : and som Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of anie worth or forehead can denie: but, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governors, to bee redeemed from that vulgar neglect ; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian paritie, which make's all Ministers equal; and the Independent inferioritie, which set's their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopacie : wherein (God know's) I do not gratifie anie design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it bee just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force mee their KING and Sovereign, as som men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of My judgment, to consent to their weak and divided Noveltyes.

The greatest Pretender of them desire's not more then I do, That the Church should bee governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture ; in which I could never see anie probable shew for anie other waies : who either content themselvs with

the examples of som Churches in their infancie and solitude, when one Presbyter might serv one Congregation in the Citie or Countrie; or elf denie these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government beeing necessarie for the Churches's well-beeing, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superioritie they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest, primitive, and best Churches flourished under Episcopacie; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderlie and disloyal passions had not so blown up som men's mindes against it, that, what they want of Reason or Primitive Patterns, they supplie with violence and oppression; wherein som men's zeal for Bishop's-Land, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacie: which (however other men esteem) to Mee is no less sin, then Sacriledg; or a robbetrie of God (the giver of all wee have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his

his Church and Prophets ; through whose hands hee graciously accept's even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgment, I am solemnly obliged to preserv that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Mee.

But beeing daily, by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am Sworn ; how can anie man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Mee at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledg and Perjurie : besides the manie personal Injustices I must do to manie worthie men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as anie, who seek to deprive them ; and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelie-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Mee, that My Coronation-Oath bind's Mee to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Mee, (which they urge

with such violence) though contrarie to all that Rational and Religious freedom which everie man ought to preserv ; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes ; yet, at the same time, these men will needs perswade Mee, That I must, and ought to dispens with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binde's Mee (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange, My Oath should bee valid in that part, which both My self and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as beeing against the verie natural and essential libertie of our souls ; yet it should bee invalid, and to bee broken in another claus, wherein I think My self justly obliged, both to God, and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by som men's ambitious Covetousness and Sacrilegious Crueltie, torturing (with Mee) both Church and State, in Civil dissensions ; till I shall bee forced to consent, and declare that I do approov, what (God know's) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor, as manie waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto if I should shamefully and dishonorably give My consent, yet should I not, by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties,

Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Mee, and Episcopacie.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots*, in point of Church-government, bee rightly objected against Mee, as an inducement for Mee to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it should bee considered that Episcopacie was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely-necessarie for all places, and at all times.

If anie shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledg it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I beeing now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happie and successful as to encourage Mee to grant the like to others.

Did I see anie thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charitie, and Loyaltie in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect My judgment to bee biaased, or fore-stalled with som prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrarie in the manners of manie of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation
for

for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I finde that in anie Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished beyond what they have don in My Kingdoms (by God's blessing) which might make Mee believ either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and men's hearts and lives, then Episcopacie in it's right Constitution.

The abuses of which, deserv to bee extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltie.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church-affairs should bee managed, neither with Tyrannie, Paritie, nor Popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie, both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserv Mee.

*For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness and
tenderneſſ; as thou haſt ſet Mee to bee a Defen-
dor*

dor of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church; so suffer Mee not, by anie violence, to bee over-born against My Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Caus; let not thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from thy Apostles, hath been reteined in purest and primitive Times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of Secular envie; which seek's to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Mee, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which som men have wounded and robbed; others pass by without regard, either to pittie, or reliev.

As My power is from thee, so give Mee grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to bee Master of My other Rights, as a KING; yet preserv Mee in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Church's welfare, which are fixed in My Conscience, as a Christian.

Preserv, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which thy Providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Bear and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happie and flourishing estate.

O Let

O Let Mee not bear the infamous brand to all Posteritie, of beeing the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, then expose their Persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, see'st how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both Mee, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of thy Church's peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, schisms, and disorders.

O thou God of Order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of thine, mine, and thy Church's enemies:

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. Upon Uxbridg-Treatie, and other Offers made by the KING.

I Look upon the waie of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should bee more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, then My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Mee, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It beeing an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianitie, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I was verie unwillingly compell'd to defend My self with Arms; so I verie willingly imbraced anie thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword beeing verie dubious; and of a Civil War, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did anie success I had ever enhance with Mee the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Mee as anie man; though I was like to paie dearer for it, then anie man: All that I fought to reserv, was Mine Honor, and My Conscience, the one I could not part with, as a KING; the other, as a Christian.

The Treatie at *Uxbridg* gave the fairest hopes of an happie composure; had others applied

applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honor, and Conscience, would give Mee leav; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My People's happiness; or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindered My Subject's either securitie, or prosperitie; for they better enjoyed both, manie years, before ever those demands were made; som of which to denie, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favor to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allaid, as they are raised: Som men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, must bee made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enioie in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the verie Name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least libertie of prudence, having so manie strict Ties of Conscience upon Mee, yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousness, or superstition had not engaged more, then anie true zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

I was

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true pietie ; I onely sought to continue what was necessarie in point of Order , Maintenance , and Autoritie to the Churches Government, and what I am perswaded (as I have elswhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection ; as also to the Primitive-Apostolical pattern , and the practice of the Universal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without anie probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie som men's wils and phantasies (which yet agree not among themselvs in anie point, but that of extirpating Episcopacie, and fighting against Mee) must needs argue such a softness, and infirmitie of minde in Mee, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honor, then crosse som men's Factionous humors.

God know's, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-succesfulness of that Treatie, & who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believ, I am verie excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no less the restoration of Peace to My people, then the prefer-
vation

vation of My own Crowns to My posteritie.

Som men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness; and glorie most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies to ask somthing, which in reason and honor must bee denied, that they might have som color to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Mee destroye My self by dishonorable concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treatie, or anie other produced, to let the world see, how little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to som men's further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to anie Concessions, or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered; and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set Mee not above a Treatie; nor the lowest ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it anie sign of true valour to bee prodigal of men's lives,
rather

rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other men's.

That which made Mee for the most part presage the unsuccessfulness of anie Treatie; was, som men's unwillingness to Treat: which implied som things were to bee gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, beeing more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellors.

I praie God forgive them that were guiltie of that Treatie's-breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunitie to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may bee happily obtain'd; what wee could not get by our Treaties, wee may gain by our Praiers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to bee reconciled with thy self; who wantest not power, or justice, to destroye them, yet aboundest in mercie to save; soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace! but
when

when I speak thereof, they make them readie to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charitie which should bee among our selves.

Remove the evils of War wee have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19. Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.

THe various Successes of this unhappie war have, at least, afforded Mee varietie of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to trie Mee with victorie, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he please's to repress the confidence of those, that fought against Mee, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part hee let
Mee

Mee see that I was not wholly forsaken by My people's love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Mee not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My caus: and those that were with Mee wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Mee: Nor were My enemies less punished by that prosperitie, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostilitie, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account everie gallant Man (in the world's esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the waie of War a righteous Caus; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glorie.

I am sure the event or success can never state the Justice of anie Caus, nor the peace of men's Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with Mee had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together

with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Command; but to none other under Heaven without Mee, or against Mee, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of som pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State, beeing such imaginarie Reasons for self-defens as are most impertinent for those men to alledg, who, beeing My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Mee and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces. The same Allegations, they use, will fit anie Faction, that hath but power and confidence enough, to second with the sword all their demands against the present Laws and Governors; which can never bee such as som side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them; som parasitick Preachers have dared to call those *Martyrs*, who died fighting against Mee, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with Truth bee applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred God's Truth, and their dutie in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in
this

this world; who, having no advantageous designs by anie Innovation, were religiously sensible of those Ties to God, the Church, and My self, which laie upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercie, crown manie of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine serving as a gracious opportunitie for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death did, through God's grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of; or, without Repentance, hope to enioie.

They have often, indeed, had the better against My side in the field; but never, I believ, at the Bar of God's Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those manie pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate braverie, to fight against those

Forces, which sometimes God gave Mee.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duely value's his dutie, his soul, and eternitie, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glorie, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them; especially since they and all the world have seen, how fals and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Mee and the Laws established; in whose safetie and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Countrie doth consist.

For, and with, all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often praied, that all on My side might join true pietie with the sens of their Loyaltie; and be as faithfull to God and their own souls, as they were to Mee. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that anie shews, or truth of pietie on the other side were sufficient to dispens

dispens with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Mee, which have so pregnant convictions on men's Consciences, that even profaner men are mooved by the sens of them to venture their Lives for Mee.

I never had anie victorie which was without My sorrow, becaus it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, died manie of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered anie Defeat, which made Mee despair of God's mercie and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serv to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of My People, which I saw were extremely oppressed together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of anie just restraint.

When Providence gave Mee, or denied Mee Victorie, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was affraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never praied more for Victorie over others, then over My self. When

the first was denied, the second was granted Mee, which God saw best for Mee.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrarie windes to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, hee might purge them from us; and, by deferring Peace, hee might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often-Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocencie forbad Mee to fear a War, but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Mee (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing but this, That I gave such advantages to some Men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modestie and gratitude, which became their Loyaltie and My confidence.

Had I yeelded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happie conclusion of so unhappie beginnings; The inevitable

ble fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to bee quiet : wee, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another : for, the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leav our sins unsubdued ; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When wee fight more against our selvs, and less against God, wee shall cease fighting against one another ; I praie God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happie conclusion of these Civil Wars ; that I may know better to obeie God, and govern My People ; and they may learn better to obeie both God, and Mee.

Nor do I desire anie man should bee further subject to Mee, then all of us may bee subject to God.

O My God, make Mee content to bee overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach Mee the noblest Victorie over My self, and My Enemies by Patience ; which was Christ's Conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of Pietie thou likest best.

Forgive the Pride that attend's our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when, going forth in our own strength, thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Bee thou all, when wee are something, and when wee are nothing; that thou mai'st have the glorie, when wee are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knowest, how hard it is for Mee to suffer so much evil from My Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel Mee to inflict upon them, punishing My self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer, I beseech thee to give Mee a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can bee sufficient for Mee.

As I am most afflicted, so make Mee most reformed, that I may bee not onely happie to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace to My Kingdoms.

*Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with Reason, Moderation, and such
Self-*

Self-denial, as becom's those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is everie good man's chiefeſt intereſt.

If, O Lord, as for the ſins of our Peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War; ſo for the ſins of War thou ſhould'ſt ſee fit ſtill to denie us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give Mee thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Sbjec'ts, to enjoie that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Mee the blood of My Sbjec'ts, which with infinite unwillingneſs and grief haſh been ſhed by Mee in My juſt and neceſſarie deſenſ; but waſh Mee with that pretious blood which haſh been ſhed for Mee by My great Peace-maker Jeſus Chriſt: who will, I truſt, redeem Mee ſhortly out of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joie of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glorie is more to bee envied then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation

bation and Noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honor Mee so far, as to make Mee an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should bee glad to see it don.

As I was wel-pleased with this Parliament's first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorrie to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled; which ought to bee the first Rule and *Standard* of reforming: with how much partialitie and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what Novelties of Schisms and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confusions in sacred Administrations, what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergie, what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Mee have followed (as showres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober
men

men are Witnesses, and (with My self) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamors and furie have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick sens; so that the studie to pleas som Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are sure the best tempers of reforming Councils and endeavours: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church-affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so 'tis like they would have giv'n most satisfaction to all.

The Assemblie of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted waie) to advise of Church-affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do anie thing, beeing limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so manie men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church
of

of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agree'd quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to bee of Apostolical institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, & if influence of contrarie Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without anie regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergie; and, in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Antient Churches, the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to bee gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shin'es on My understanding.

For I conceiv, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the Constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or anie positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but, for all that, wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate

rogate the Autoritie of that Antient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie waie convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsils, and such (I beleeve) as would have giv'n more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie, to carrie on other men's designs; which, no doubt, manie of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles of *Christ's Government*, *Throne*, *Scepter*, and *Kingdom*, (which certainly is not divided; nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the nois of a thorow-Reformation, may as easily bee fixed on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posteritie in minde to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publick service of God, where

no Christian can tell to what hee may saie *Amen*; nor what adventure hee may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Praiers, Preaching, and other Offices: The setting forth also of old Catechisms and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear Dóctrine of Faith in this Church, before som four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion:

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give som short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with Nóvelties, as Children with Babies, verie much, but not verie long) But all this amount's not to, nor can in Justice merit the glorie of the Church's thorow-Reformation; since they leav all things more deformed, disorderlie, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Pietie, Moralitye, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompens or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies bee applied.

I wish

I wish they would, at last, make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own: : Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But som men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so manie Laws and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up : If there had been as much of *Christ's Spirit* for meekness, wisdom, and charitie, in men's hearts, as there was of his *Name* used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christ's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glorie, the Church's Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts which they purpose to trie on others, for Deformities within will soon betraie the Pretenders of publick Reformations to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming
N the

the Church cannot consist with that of per-
turbing the Civil State; nor can Religion bee
justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which
is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Orna-
ments of true Religion ; for, next to *fear God*,
is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may
bee set up without pulling down Mine ; nor
will anie men in impartial times appear good
Christians, that approov not themselvs good
Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine,
not overthrow it ; since as I own Mine from
Him, so I desire to rule for his Glorie, and his
Church's good.

Had som men truly intended *Christ's Go-
vernment* , or knew what it meant in their
hearts, they could never have been so ill-go-
verned in their words and actions, both a-
gainst Mee and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means; so
nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth
good conclusions ; unless GOD, by a miracle
of Mercie, create Light out of Darknes, Or-
der out of our Confusions, and Peace out of
our Passions.

*Thou, O Lord, who onely can'st give us beantie
for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie ; suffer us not
to bee miserably deluded with Pharisaical wash-
ings,*

ings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within ; make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls:

That wee may in clearness of Judgment, and uprightness of heart bee means to reform what is indeed amiss in Church and State:

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us ; that wee may do all by thy directions , to thy glorie , and with thy blessing.

Pittie the deformities which som rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State : Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretens of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world, by their divisions and confusions, what is the pravitie of som men's intentions, and weakness of their judgments ; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations ; wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetousness, or Sacriledg, may have anie influence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence in just and lawful waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessarie work : that I and My People may bee so blest'd with inward Pietie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.

21. *Upon His Majestie's Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected it, so, they knew not how with Honor and Civilitie to use: Nor do I think, with sober and worthie mindes, anie thing in them could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Virtue and Nobleness beeing discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations beeing those, which are put upon us by them, from whom wee could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and secrecie of which command's a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anie thing more inhumane then to expose them to Publick view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I studie to approov to God's omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without anie of those dresses or popular captations which some men use

use in their Speeches and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserv My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happines; and that extreme grief to see them both Deceived and Destroyed.

Nor can anie men's malice bee gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constancie to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie, where the Spider suck's Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who love's Mee, or the Common-wealth; since My Subjects can hardly bee happie, if I bee miserable; or enjoie their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppressed.

The world may see how som men's design, like *Absolom's*, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not onely with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie forgive them.

The integritie of My intentions is not jea-

lous of anie injurie, My expreffions can do them ; for although the confidence of privacie may admit greater freedom in writing fuch Letters, which may bee liable to envious exceptions ; yet the Innocencie of My chief purposes cannot bee fo stained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men fee, that I wifh nothing more then an happie compofure of differences with Juftice and Honor, not more to My own, then My People's content, who have anie sparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them : who, by thofe My Letters, may bee convinced, that I can both minde and Act Mine own, and My Kingdom's Affairs, fo as becom's a Prince ; which Mine Enemies have alwaies been verie loth fhould bee believed of Mee ; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleas to brand with the names of *Evil Counfellors*.

It's probable fom men will now look upon Mee as My own Counsellor ; and, having none elf to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My felf ; Although I know they are verie unwilling I fhould enjoie that libertie of My own Thoughts, or follow that light of My own Confcience, which they labor to bring into an abfolute captivitie to themfelves ; not allowing Mee to think their Counfels to bee
other

other then good for Mee, which have so long maintained a War against Mee.

The Victorie they obtained that daie, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of Popular Glorie among the Vulgar; with whom Prosperitie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus; as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oft'ner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Cause, which began with Tumults, and depend's chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My Credit with My People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyaltie to Mee, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties, which som men seek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthis to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and crueltie, I must bee compelled, first,

to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then bee destroied: But I know God's unerring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most pervers wills and designs of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemy's thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost anie more then so manie Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to bee pai'd to all men, and most becom's such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honor, which they ow to their KING, - present, and after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them som secret impressions of that shame and dishonor, which attend's all unworthie actions, have they never so much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine Approbation of such indecent actions if they do but remember how God bless'd the modest respect and filial tendernes which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmitie justifie *Cham's* impudencie, or exempt him from that curse of beeing *Servant of servants*; which curse must needs bee on them who seek by dishonorable actions to pleas
the

the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions bee ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose Mee to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that Dutie of modest concealment, which they owed to the *Father* of their *Countrie*, in case they had discovered anie real uncomeliness; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believ, hath made Mee (as hee did *David*) more respected in the hearts of manie, to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendered Mee as a *vile Person*, not fit to bee trusted, or considered, under anie notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affairs, make Mee to see the constancie of thy mercies to Mee, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of My Enemies against Mee.

As thou did'st blast the counsel of Achitophel, turning it to David's good, and his own ruine; so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing My private letters, nothing els, but to render Mee more odious & contemptible to My people.

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who
can'st

can'st witness with My integritie, how unjust and fals those scandalous mis-constructions are, which My enemies endeavour by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby, against Mee, so to return on their own heads, that they may bee ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou see'st how Mine Enemies use all means to cloud Mine Honor, to pervert My purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give Mee an heart content to bee dishonored for thy sake, and thy Church's good.

Fix in Mee a purpose to honor thee, and then I know thou wilt honor Mee; either by restoring to Mee the enjoiment of that Power and Majestie, which thou hast suffered som men to seek to deprive Mee of; or by bestowing on Mee that crown of Christian patience, which know's how to serv thee in honor, or dishonor, in good report, or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnes and honor; thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make Mee to partake of thy excellencie for wisdom, justice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honor and Majestie, which becom's the Place in which thou hast set Mee; who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead mee to thy Glorie, which is both true, and eternal.

Upon

22. *Upon His Majestie's leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.*

ALthough God hath giv'n Mee three Kingdoms, yet in these Hee hath not now left Mee anie place, where I may with Safetie and Honor rest My Head: Shewing Mee that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defens, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much, as to God; Hee will not have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and My now distressed Affairs upon his Mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessitie is now My Counsellor, and command's Mee to studie My safetie by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who first began My Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arm and overcome Them: My rend'ring My Person to Them may engage their Affections to Mee, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Mee, but for Mee.*

I must

I must now resolv the riddle of their Loyaltie; and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they saie.

Yet must God bee My chiefeſt Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellor and My Comforter: Though I put My Bodie into their hands, yet I shall reserv My Soul to God, and My self: nor shall anie necessities compel Mee to desert Mine Honor, or swerv from My Judgment.

What they sought to take by Force, shall now bee giv'n them in such a waie of unusual Confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to bee really such, as they ought, and professed to bee.

God see's it not enough to deprive Me of all Militarie power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in dutie to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes bee, that their greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

I must now leav those that have Adhered to Mee, and applie to those that have Opposed Mee; this method of Peace may bee more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds
alreadie

alreadie made : and in it I am no less sollicitous for My Friend's safetie, then Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is som skill in plaie to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now studie to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Soul's libertie, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My Consent to their New Demands.

I thank God, no success darken's, or disguise's Truth to Mee; and I shall no less conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loyal Subjects, *full of power*.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think My self weak'ned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclips of outward fortune shall rob Mee of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supplie with inward resolutions; not morosely to denie, what is fit to bee granted; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie.

I shall never think My self less then My self
while

while I am able thus to preserv the Integritie of My Conscience, the onely jewel now left Mee, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet Mine eies are towards thee: To the protection of thy mercie I still commend My self.

As Thou hast preserved Mee in the daie of Battel; so Thou can'st still shew Mee Thy strength in My weakness.

Bee Thou unto Mee in My darkest night, a Pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct Mee; in the day of My hottest affliction, bee also a Pillar of Cloud to over-shadow and protect Mee; bee to Mee both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not anie perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made Mee thus far to hazard My person, Peace, and Safetie, against Those, that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not My just resolutions to abate with My outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompanie Mee, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer Mee not to betraie the powers of Reason, and that fortress of My Soul, which I am entrusted with to keep for Thee.

Lead

*Lead Mee in the paths of thy Righteousness, and
shew Mee thy Salvation.*

*Make My waies to pleas thee, and then thou wilt
make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with Mee.*

23. Upon the Scot's delivering the
KING to the English; and His Captivi-
tie at Holmbie.

—Y^Et may I justifie those *Scots* to all the
World in this, That they have not
deceived Mee; for I never trusted to them
further, then to men: if I am sold by them,
I am onely sorrie they should do it; and that
My price should bee so much above My Sa-
viour's.

These are but further *Essaies*, which God
will have Mee make of man's uncertaintie;
the more to fix Mee on himself, who *never
faileth them that trust in him*: Though the
Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him
that lean's on them; yet the Rock of *Israël*
will bee an everlasting staie and defens.

God's Providence command's Mee to re-
tire from all to himself, that in him I may
enjoie My self; whom I lose, while I let out
My hopes to others.

The solitude and captivitie, to which I am
now reduced, give's Mee leisure enough to
studie the world's vanitie and inconstancie.

God

God see's 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly his, who alone is All.

I care not much to bee reckoned among the *Unfortunate*, if I bee not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin; nor gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.

They have no great caus to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power; since My Soul is still My own: nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call Obstinacie, I know God account's honest Constancie; from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor; forbid Mee to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil-Confessors with Mee, but a good Conscience in Mee, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what som men desire, I should bee such as they wish Mee: not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have

have as little of safetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never bee My snare; nor shall the love of anie libertie entangle My soul: Better others betraie Mee, then My self; and that the price of My Libertie should bee My Conscience: The greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own consent.

While I can denie with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily what I have alreadie granted; nor what to require more of Mee but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroie My self and Mine.

Although they should Destroie Mee, yet they shall have no caus to Despise Mee.

Neither libertie, nor life are so dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more then anie War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Laws will, by God's blessing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of My subjects; if I burie them not by My Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor and injustice, which som men's violence hath digged for them.

If My captivitie, or death must bee the price of their redemption, I grudge not to paie it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carri's not with it his souls, his People's, and Posteritie's thralldom.

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them; haply I might redeem My self to som shew of libertie, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm manie Tyrants over them; from whom I praie God deliver them, whatever becom's of Mee; whose solitude hath not left Mee alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely-good, and great, art with Mee; whose presence is better then life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own Mee for thy Servant, and I shall never have caus to complain for want of that libertie, which becom's a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Bless Mee still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice, as a King.

Though Thou sufferest Mee to bee stript of all outward ornaments; yet preserv Mee ever in those enjoiments, wherein I may enjoie thy self; and which cannot bee taken from Mee against My will.

Let

Let no fire of affliction boil over My passion to
anie impatience, or sordid fears.

There bee manie saie of Mee, There is no help for
Mee: do Thou lift up the Light of thy Countenance
upon Mee, and I shall neither want Safetie, Liber-
tie, nor Majestie.

Give Mee that measure of Patience and constan-
cie, which My condition now require's.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from
Men defeated, my Person restrained: O bee not
Thou far from Mee, lest my Enemies prevail too
much against Mee.

I am becom a wonder, and a scorn to manie: O
bee Thou My Helper and Defendor.

Shew som token upon Mee for good, that they,
that hate Mee, may bee ashamed, becaus thou Lord
hast holpen and comforted Mee: establish Mee with
thy free Spirit that I may do and suffer thy Will,
as thou would'st have Mee.

Bee merciful to Mee, O Lord, for my Soul trust-
eth in Thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings
will I make My refuge until these calamities bee
over-past.

Arise to deliver Mee, make no long tarrying, O
My God. Though Thou killest Mee, yet will I trust
in Thy Mercie, and My Saviour's Merit.

I know that My Redeemer liveth; though Thou
leadeest Mee through the vale and shadow of death;
yet shall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHEN Providence was pleased to deprive Mee of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best bee supplied by the attendance of som of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have caus to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I hoped to bee either better enabled to sustein the want of all other enjoiments, or better fitted for the recoverie and use of them in God's good time: so reaping, by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of Grace amid'st the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously-pious, and soberly-devout.

The solitude, they have confined Mee unto, add's the Wilderiness to My temptations; For the companie they obtrude upon Mee is more sad then anie solitude can bee.

If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or anie one of My Kingdoms, it had
had

had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbid's all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to denie Mee the Ghostlie comfort of My Chaplains seem's a greater rigor and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive's of worldlie comforts; yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming at once to destroe their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godlie, and Discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to bee.

They that envie My beeing a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive Mee of all things elf, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sens Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those manie harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of som of My Chaplains.

I have somtime thought the Unchristianess of those denials might arise from a displeasure som men had to see Mee prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom

though I respect them for that worth and pietie which may bee in them, yet I cannot think so proper for anie present Comforters, or Physicians ; who have (som of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Mee.

Nor are the sobrest of them so apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those Holie Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee; since, their judgements standing at a distance from Mee, or in jealousy of Mee, or in opposition against Mee, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Praier, or other Holie Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable ; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consist's in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Som Remedies are worst then the Disease, and som Comforters more miserable then Miserie it self ; when, like *Job's* friends, they seek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocencie, to despair of God's Mercie ; and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a Friend to all Church-men, that have anie thing in them besecming that
Sacred

Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eies of manie cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandsomly requited by som of them, who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pittie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leav to make choise of som for My special Attendants, who were best approoved in My judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no men's prayers, then to bee forced, or seem to complie with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue saie *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither Profane boldness, nor Pious non-sens; but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shew's the Speaker to bee at once considerate of Gods Majestie, the Church's Honor, and his own Vile-

ness; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercie for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all praier, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately; as either wanting Humilitie to God, or Charitie to men, or Respect to the Dutie.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons; so with such publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Church's and everie Christian's dailie and common necessities; becaus I am by them better assured, what I may join My heart unto, then I can bee of anie man's extemporarie sufficiencie; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occasions; so I allow its just libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the Dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant and occasional, solitarie and social Devotions;

So that I must needs seem to all equal mindes with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of
their

their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet should I not by that, as by anie certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, bee able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare composure and use, which is alreadie as much despised and disused by manie of them, as the Common-Praier sometimes was by those men, a great part of whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather bee condemned to the wo of *Va soli*, then to that of *Va vobis, Hypocrita*, by seeming to praie what I do not approu.

It may bee, I am esteemed by My Deniers sufficient of My self to discharge My dutie to GOD as a Priest; though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well becom the same Person; as antiently they were under one name, & the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,

Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching : whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet ; the other, of a Preacher : Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of those the Romane Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued : it beeing infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of God's Wisdom and Providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings and Priests, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian Churches ; I am sorrie to finde My self reduced to the necessitie of beeing both, or enjoying neither.

For such, as seek to deprive Mee of My Kinglie Power and Sovereigntie, would no less enforce Mee to live manie Months without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unless I becom My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Christian King ; so I desire to enjoie from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers ; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other men's ; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections less distracted, then those which are
encomb'red

encomb' red with Secular Affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attend's those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and Consecrated som men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his Merits daily offer's it self and it's services to God, everie private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honor of a Royal Priest-hood; yet, as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think Confusion in Religion will as certainly follow everie man's turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where everie one affect's to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conscioufness to My spiritual defects make's Mee more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holie and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Mee; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer som of My Subjects to reduce Mee; so as to leav them nothing more, but My life to take from Mee; and to leav Mee nothing to desire, which I thought might less provoke their jealousy and offens to deny Mee, then this of having som means afforded

ded Mee for My soul's comfort and support.

To which end I made choise of men, as no waie (that I know) scandalous; so everie waie eminent for their Learning and Pietie, no less then for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine anie exceptions to bee made against them but onely this, That they may seem too able and too wel-affected toward Mee and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Mee to serv My self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of anie other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in som things) to the beeing sequestred from My Wife and Children; since from these, indeed, more of humane and temporarie affections; but from those, more of heavenlie and eternal improovments may bee expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinarie supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Mee and help My Infirmities in praier, reading and meditation, (as I hope hee will) I shall need no other, either Orator, or Instructor.

*To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct
My now-solitarie praiers; what I want of
others*

other's help, supplie with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit; which alone can both enlighten My darkness, and quicken My dulness.

O thou Sun of Righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenlie light and heat, at once clear and warm My heart, both by instructing of Mee, and interceding for Mee: In thee is all fulness; from thee is all-sufficiencie, by thee is all acceptance. Thou art companie enough, and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee also My Prophet, and My Priest: Rule Mee, Teach Mee, Prate in Mee, for Mee; and bee thou ever with Mee.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel, when hee had none to second him but thy self; who did'st assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcom violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O Look on Mee thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou did'st once bless with the joint and sociated Devotions of others; whose fervencie might inflame the coldness of My Affections towards thee, when wee went to, or met in thy House, with the voice of joye and gladness, worshipping thee in the Unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O Forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happie opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should bee as a Pelican in the wilderness; as a Sparrow on the house top; and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings,

glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserv, and increas the holie fire of thy graces on the Altar of My heart, whence the Sacrifice of Praiers, and Incens of Praises, might bee duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the weakness of My Praiers, nor the smotherings of My Soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by som men's uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no less desire.

O Let the hardnes of their hearts occasion the softnings of Mine to thee, and for Them: Let their Hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more excite My praiers to thee. Let their inexorable deafness incline thine ear to Mee; who art a God easie to bee entreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand short'ned, that it cannot help Mee thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Mee of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar Mee from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make Mee such, and thou wilt teach Mee; thou wilt hear Mee; thou wilt help Mee: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise.

Thou;

Thou, O Lord, can'st at once make Mee thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up, in holie meditations, fervent praiers, and unfeined tears, My self to thee; who preparest Mee for thee, dwellest in Mee, and accepteſt of Mee.

Thou, O Lord, did'st caus, by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend; nor the little oil in the cruif fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on My soul, which, as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths, I have formerly learned, now fail My memorie; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I Have sometime felt, now bee wanting to My Heart, in this famine of ordinarie and wholsom food, for the refreshing of My Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, then to feed from those hands who mingle My bread with ashes, and My wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching Mee; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of Mee, then to heartie praiers for Mee.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest thy Holie Scriptures to My destruction, which are clear for their subjection, and My preservation: O let it not bee to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men, under color of long praiers, have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let

O Let not those men's balms break My head; nor their Cordials oppress My heart; I will evermore praie against their wickedness.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Mee, O Lord, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperitie of My soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieu this sadness and solitude of thy servant, O My King, and My God.

25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's solitude at Holmbie.

GIue ear to My words, O Lord, consider My Meditation; and hearken to the voice of My crie, My King and My God, for unto Thee will I praie.

I said, in My haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eies; neuertheless thou hearest the voice of My supplication, when I crie unto Thee.

If thou Lord should'st bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, who can abide it? But there is Mercie with Thee that Thou maiest bee feared; therefore shall sinners flie unto Thee.

I acknowledg My sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of My condition, the eminencie of My Place adding weight to My offenses.

Forgive

Forgive, I beseech thee, My Personal and My People's sins; which are so far Mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest Mee, to thy glorie, and My Subject's good: Thou hast now brought Mee from the glorie and freedom of a King to bee a Prisoner to My own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in manie things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained My Person, yet enlarge My heart to thee, and thy grace towards Mee.

I com far short of David's pietie; yet since I may equal David's afflictions, give Mee also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sens I have of My sins, bee an evidence to Mee, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and My Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto Mee; have mercie upon Mee, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of My heart are enlarged; O bring thou Mee out of My troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to bee gracious, and shut up thy loving kindenes in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindeneses, which have been for manie generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleev'd to see thy goodness in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial consume the dross, which in long peace and plentie wee had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace: what is wanting of prosperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger bee not yet to bee turned away, but thy hand of justice must bee stretched out still; Let it, I beseech thee, bee against Mee, and My Fathers hous; as for these sheep, what have they don?

Let My sufferings satiate the malice of Mine, and thy Churches enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the measure of My charitie.

Banish from Mee all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward; nor thou, the glorie of My patience.

As thou givest Mee a heart to forgive them; so, I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have don against thee and mee.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given mee an heart to praie unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember mee, and My Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling Thy true Religion among us:

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice:

In suppressing the manie Schisms in Church,
and Factions in State :

If thou wilt restore Mee and Mine to the Antient
rights and glorie of My Predecessors :

If thou wilt turn the hearts of My People to thy
self in Pietie, to Mee in Loyaltie, and to one ano-
ther in Charitie :

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw
the fewel of these Civil Wars :

If thou wilt bless us with the freedom of Publick
Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments
from the insolencie of the vulgar :

If thou wilt keep Mee from the great offens of
enactting anie thing against My Conscience; and
especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines
and spoilings of thy Church :

If thou wilt restore Mee to a capacitie to glorifie
thee in doing good, both to the Church and State :

Then shall My soul prais thee, and magnifie thy
Name before My People:

Then shall thy glorie bee dearer to Mee then My
Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion
both in pruitie and power bee My chieftest care:

Then will I rule My People with Justice, and My
Kingdoms with equitie :

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever ow
as the rightful succession; so the merciful re-
stauratiō of My Kingdoms, and the glorie of
them.

If thou wilt bring Mee again with peace, safetie,

and honor, to My chiefest Cittie, and My Parliament:

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into My hand to punish and protect:

Then will I make all the world to see, and My verie Enemies to enioie the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended Mee in anie kinde; so My hand shall never bee against anie man to revenge what is past, in regard of anie particular injurie don to Mee.

Wee have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of My Redeemer, have I purposed this in My heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnestie and indemnitie, which may most fully remoov all fears, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy Mercies bee toward Mee and Mine, as My resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward My people.

Hear My praier, O Lord, which goeth not out of feined lips.

Blessed bee God, who hath not turned away My praier; nor taken his Mercie from Mee.

O My soul, commit thy waie to the Lord, trust in him, and bee shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore Mee and Mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou

*Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken,
Blessed bee thy Name.*

*May My People and thy Church bee happie, if
not by Mee, yet without Mee.*

26. *Upon the Armies Surprizal of the KING
at Holmbie, and the ensuing distractions
in the two Houses, the Armie, and the
Cittie.*

WHat Part God will have Mee now to
Act or suffer in this new and strange
scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous ;
som little practice will serv that man, who
onely seek's to represent a part of honestie
and honor.

This surprize of Mee tell's the world, that a
K I N G cannot bee so low, but Hee is con-
siderable ; adding weight to that Partie
where Hee appear's.

This motion, like others of the Times,
seem's excentrick and irregular, yet not well
to bee resisted or quieted : Better swim down
such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins
which lately one womb enclosed, the young-
er striving to prevail against the elder : what
the *Presbyterians* have hunted after, the *Inde-
pendents* now seek to catch for themselv's.

So impossible is it for lines to bee drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen; and sound's too like the furie of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Cittie.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that those, who are so much professed Patrons for the People's Liberties, cannot bee utterly against the Libertie of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason denie to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous then the Presbyterian rigor, who, somtimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are becom the greatest Exactors of other men's submission to their Novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Autoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselv's manumitted from their
Rivals

Rival's service, in that they carrie on a busi-
ness of such consequence, as the assuming
My Person into the Armie's custodie, with-
out anie Commission, but that of their own
Will and Power. Such as will thus adventure
on a King, must not bee thought over-modest,
or timorous to carrie on anie design they
have a minde to.

Their next motion menace's, and scare's
both the two Houses and the Cittie: which,
soon after, acting over again that former part
of tumultuarie motions, (never questioned,
punished, or repented of) must now suffer for
both; and see their former sin in the glasse
of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the
hand of divine Justice; they, that by Tumults
first occasioned the raising of Armies, must
now bee chastened by their own Armie for
new Tumults.

So hardly can men bee content with one
sin, but add sin to sin, till the later punish the
former; such as were content to see Mee and
manie Members of both Houses driv'n away
by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now
forced to flie to an Armie, or defend them-
selvs against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of som men's
justice? The Members of both Houses who at
first withdrew (as My self was forced to do)

from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their places in Parliament: Such as staid then, and enjoied the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men.

Now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carrie the Parliamentarie Power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselvs by an Armie: Such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuarie insolencies, and Betraiars of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages then their Consciences and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselvs.

Now the plea against Tumults hold's good; the Autors and Abettors of them are guiltie of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessarie Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursue's and overtake's (as the Mice and Rats are said to have don a Bishop in *Germanie*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselvs most impregably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observ this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pittie ; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and Cittie, that I was forrie to see them do, or suffer anie thing unworthie such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Citties as to despair of their Loyaltie to Mee ; which mistakes might eclips, but I never beleevved malice had quite put out.

I praie God the storm bee yet wholly passed over them ; upon whom I look, as Christ did somtime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My praiers and tears, with compassionate grief, fore-seeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to bee gathered to their dutie: *fatal* blindness frequently attending and punishing *wilful* ; so that men shall not bee able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins ; nor shall they bee suffered to enjoie the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becomming insolent enemies,
there

there beeing nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of phansie, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of Publick consistencie; whither I praie God at last bring all sides:

Which will easily bee don, when wee shall fully see how much more happie wee are, to bee subject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of anie men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with anie illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grow's wearie of it self, and end's in a refractorie sullenness: People's rebound's are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Armie (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldier's principles and interests, demanding Paie and Indemnity) I think it necessarie, in order to the Publick peace, that they should bee satisfied, as far as is just; no man beeing more prone to consider them then My self: though they have fought against Mee, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valor and gallantrie they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want

want such men to maintain My self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a Peace, as wherein they may enioie their share and proportion as much as anie men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unitie in a sacred Trinitie, in mercie behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver Mee from the strivings of My People, and make Mee to see how much they need My prayers and pittie, who agree'd to fight against Mee, and yet are now readie to fight against one another, to the continuance of My Kingdom's distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of Peace, from which they have swerved: which consist's not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joint and due observation of the Laws.

Make Mee willing to go whither thou wilt lead Mee by thy Providence, and bee thou ever with Mee, that I may see thy Constancie in the world's varietie and changes.

Make Mee even such as thou would'st have Mee, that I may at last enioie that safetie and tranquillitie which thou alone canst give Mee.

Divert, I praie thee, O Lord, thy heavie wrath justly hanging over those populous Citties, whose plentie is prone to add fewel to their luxurie; their wealth to make them wanton; their multitudes tempting them to securitie; and their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy Glorie and the Publick peace; lest their calamitie com upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin; nor shall they bee long undisarmed and un-destroyed, who, with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, then ever they did against Mee.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to other's injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardness helped to destroy Mee, yet let not My fall bee their ruine.

Let Mee not so much consider, either what they have don, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to praise to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied Mee in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the less they weep for Mee, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not My blood bee upon them and their Children,

Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Mee.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Mee by My sufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercie, then of man's crueltie, or thy own justice.

17. To the Prince of Wales.

SON! if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, com to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may bee so far useful to You, as to state Your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can bee made; And they may also give you some directions, how to remedie the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to com.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening the injurie of My long restraint, when I finde My leasure and solitude have produced something worthie of My self, and usefull to You; That neither You, nor anie other, may hereafter measure My Caul by the Success; nor My Judgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they
have

have so far lighted upon You, and som Others, whom I have most caus to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sens then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes; that You have begun, and now spent som years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter, then in warmth and serenitie of times; or amid'st those delights, which usually attend Prince's Courts in times of Peace and Plentie; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honor; or to bee contented onely with som leavs, and withering formalities of them, without anie real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the Holie Writ afford's us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by manie afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned by the unparallel'd prosperitie of *Solomon's* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes,

Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom aduersitie, like cold weather, drive's away.

I had rather You should bee *Charls le Bon*, then *le Grand*, Good, then Great, I hope God hath designed You to bee both; having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vitious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princelie indowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

With God I would have You begin & end, who is King of Kings, the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereigntie You can attain to, is, to bee subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glorie of Princes consist's in advancing God's Glorie in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Church's Good; Also in the dispensation of Civil Power, with Justice and Honor, to the Publick Peace.

Pietie will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from beeing miserable; nor is hee much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To

To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which hee hath been pleased to draw on Mee, and by which hee hath (I hope) drawn Mee nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drunk; which I look upon as God's Physick, having that in healthfulness which it want's in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, well-grounded and settled in Your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgment and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written; that it may be judiciously Your own Religion, and not other men's custom or tradition which You profess.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming nearest to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with som little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not bee more necessarie for Your Soul's then Your Kingdom's Peace, when God shall bring You to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an
Angel

Angel of reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When som men's Consciences accusethem for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and nois of Religion; when Pietie plead's for peace and patience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point You bee well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroe You and Yours, under pretension of Reforming matters of Religion: for that seem's even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion; to bee thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severitie of censuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting anie Factions, or applying to anie publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is in Your Judgment, & the Churches wel settled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to anie one Side, gain's You not so great advantages in som men's hearts (who are prone to bee of their King's Religion) as it loseth You in others; who think themselvs and their pro-
Q
fession

fection first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offenses by impartiality; or so order affairs in point of Power that You shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For, if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their Courtesy, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never expect less of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity, then from those, who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their interest is always made God's; under the Colors of Piety, ambitious policies March, nor only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populace; You may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but You shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in England, for many years; so compliant they were to Publick order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to men's judgments: But as soon as discontents drove men into Sittings, as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which caused inflammations, so did all, at first, who affected any Novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious
 Servants

Servants to Presbyterie, their great Master: till time and militarie successs, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes; and, leaving the joint stock of uniform Religion, they pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State; but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Church's peace, so as to neglect a speedie reforming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: What seem at first but as a hand-bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have don Justice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unitie in Religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperitie will depend, and move, is, That of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give verie much to Subject's industrie, libertie, and happiness; and yet reserv enough to the Majestie and prerogative of anie King, who own's

his People as Subjects, not as Slaves ; whose subjection, as it preserv's their Propertie, Peace, and Safetie, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties: which consist in the enjoiment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselvs have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole bodie, the weakness of whose parts cannot return anie thing of strength, honor, or safetie to the Head, but a necessarie debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws ; there beeing nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanitie) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honor of a kinde of *Martyrdom*, as to the testimonie of My own Conscience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Mee but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established before those Alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto

hitherto have been chiefly used towards Mee, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick Interest, and the Good of the Communitie.

How God will deal with Mee, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his Justice, by the verie unjust hands of som of My Subjects, hath been pleased to laie upon Mee, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from Men, while I retein in My soul, what I believ is right before G o d.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safetie, that in Reason, Honor, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People; and You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall, in his due time, after My deceas, bring You, as I hope Hee will, My Counsel & Charge to You is, That You seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon anie man's single counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likelie to bee alwaies more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom then anie man's.

Next, beware of exasperating anie Factions by the crosness, and asperitie of som men's passions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipate's their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifie's, and put's the despised and oppressed Partie into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attend's all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them : Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies

Alwaies keep up Solid Pietie, and those fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industrie, and pietie; but, with an equal eie, and impartial hand, distribute favors and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will bee sure to gain You the hearts of the best and the most too; who, though they bee not good themselvs, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at anie time sweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different & opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in anie conformitie to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemie, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as set's them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonist.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once

the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves, which were at first wrap't up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: As the Wolf is not less cruel, so hee will bee more justly hated, when hee shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheep's cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicities follow those disguises, My Charge and Counsel to You is, That, as You need no palliations for anie Designs, (as other men) so You studie really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of Goodness, Pietie, and Virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither fear anie detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from anie Subject's Novelties, as from the virtuous constancie of their King.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the Sun-shine of God's mercie, and the splendor of Your virtues, bee thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppres-
fors

fors of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences then those men, that entitle themselves The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betraie You to anie studie of Revenge upon those, whose own sin and follie will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked Arrow of Factious Emulations is drawn out, use all Princelie Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds; that the smart of the Cure may not equal the anguish of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to bee anie waie obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serv to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies propens to the same waie; when ever it shall bee desired and accepted, let it bee granted, not onely as an Act of State-Policie and Necessitie, but of Christian Charitie and Choise.

It is all I have now left Mee, a Power to forgive those, that have deprived Mee of all; and I thank God, I have a Heart to do it; and joine as much in this Grace, which God hath giv'n Mee, as in all My former enjoiments; for this is a greater argument of God's Love to Mee, then anie Prosperitie can bee.

Bee

Bee confident(as I am)that the most of all sides,who have don amiss, have don so, not out of malice , but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will bee more loyal and faithful to Mee and You,then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors , and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance ; and earnest desires to make som reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie set's You beyond anie Duel with anie Subject ; so the nobleness of Your minde must rais You above the meditating anie revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.

The more conscious You shall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People ; the more prone You will bee to expect all Love and Loyaltie from them ; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one,then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you,not despairing of God's Mercie,and My Subject's affections towards You; both which,I hope, You will studie to deserv; yet Wee cannot merit of God,but by his own Mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore Mee, and You after Mee, to those enjoiments , which the
Laws

Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I shall bee so happie to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor, and the Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never see My face again, and God will have Mee buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie, (which the perfecting som men's designs require's) wherein few hearts that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Mee, I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receiv the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search, and manie disputes, have concluded it to bee the best in the world; not onely in the Communitie, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as reformed; keeping the middle waie between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchie.

Not but that (the draught beeing excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) som lines, as in verie good figures, may haply need
som

som sweet'ning, or polishing; which might here have easily been don by a safe and gentle hand; if som men's precipitancie had not violently demanded such rude Alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the Beautie and Proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which som may object and urge to You against the Protestant-Religion established in *England*, is easily Answered to them, or Your own thoughts, in this, That scarce anie one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and mee, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant-Religion, established in ENGLAND: which neither give's such Rules, nor ever before set such Examples.

'Tis true, som heretofore had the boldness to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in Execution: but let not counterfeited and disorderlie Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Pietie; both of them are to be known by *their Fruits*; the sweetness of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor

Nor would I have You to entertain anie averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments ; which, in their right conſtitution with Freedom and Honor , will never injure or diminifh Your Greatneſs, but will rather bee as interchangeings of Love, Loyaltie, and Confidence, between a Prince, and His People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of Popular dictates , and tumultuarie impreſſions : The ſad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerv that Freedom and Honor, which belong's to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the Publick intereſt conſiſt's in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can bee more happie for all, then, in fair, grave, and Honorable waies, to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by Publick Conſent, without Tyrannie or Tumults. Wee muſt not ſtarv our ſelvs, becauſ ſom men have ſurſeited of whoſſom food.

And if neither I, nor You, bee ever reſtored to Our Right, but God, in his ſevereſt Juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in their
their

their sin, and suffer them to bee deluded with the prosperitie of their wickedness ; I hope God will give Mee, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown ; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonorable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of pietie, virtue, and honor ; You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honor will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother My Wife, who hath manie waies deserved well of Mee, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bless Mee with so manie hopeful Children ; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) Shee hath been content with incomparable magnanimitie and patience to suffer both for, and with Mee, and You.

My praier to God Almighty is, (whatever becom's of Mee, who am, I thank God, wrap't up and fortified in My own Innocencie, and his Grace) that hee would bee pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms ; a Repairer by Your Wisdom, Justice, Pietie, Valor, of what the follie and wickedness of som men have so far ruined, as to
leav

leav nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honor, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed Mee, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions som men's words and actions have alreadie given Mee) as I doubt not but My blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deserted Mee, or engaged against Mee, through the Artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horror will bee their first Tormentor; nor will they escape Exemplarie judgments.

For those that loved Mee, I praie God they may have no miss of Mee, when I am gon; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may bee satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of anie defects in their Dutie toward Mee, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King; so I believ You will finde them truly Zealous, to repaie, with interest, that loyaltie and love to You, which was Due to Mee.

In sum, what good I intended, do You Perform, when God shall give You Power:
much

much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This Mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appear's, since My Restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Mee, as was pretended) will not long serv to hide some men's deformities.

Happie times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyaltie to their King, cannot bee parted, without both their sin and their infelicitie.*

I praie God blefs you and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion; and Your honor in the love of God and Your People:

And if God will have disloyaltie perfected by My destruction, let My memorie ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that love's You: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom GOD thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the Suffering manie indignities and an untimelie Death for them; while I studied to preserv the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws; the honor of My Crown;
the

the priviledg of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope hee yet will restore Mee to My Rights. I cannot despair either of his Mercie, or of My People's love and pittie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Mee, and Mee for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till Wee meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and HIS MAJESTIE'S closer imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.

AS I have leasure enough, so I have cauf more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence, which give's Mee the space, but Man's crueltie, that give's Mee the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortalitie, which lie's upon Mee, as a Man; I now bear the heavie load of other men's am-

R

bitions,

bitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envie, or enmitie against Mee make's their own lives seem deadlie to them, while I enjoie anie part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperitie made Mee not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie :

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain : Death beeing an eclips, which oft happ'neth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.

But My now long and sharp adversitie hath so reconciled in Mee those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men ; that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allaied : for, although My death at present may justly bee represented to Mee with all those terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs beeing drawn to the verie dregs of malice) yet, I blefs God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp ; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or giv'n Mee the Antidote of his Death against them ; which, as to the immaturitie, injustice, shame, scorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of
Religion,

Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to bee wearie of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Mee somtime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to *die daily*, in conquering, by a livelie faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us over-live our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, safetie, estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My People: for which as I have suffered manie deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroe, first, the love and Loialtie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Mee, which from these I chiefly enjoied.

Indeed, they have left Mee but little of life,

and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Mee; having bereaved Mee of all those worldlie comforts, for which life it self seem's desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's thee anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Caus, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improovment of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Christian valor, it argue's pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life; and a want of that Heroïck greatness of spirit which becom's a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this bodie; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperitie move's higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may bee terrible, like *Sampson's* Lion, but they yeeld much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overcome the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet convers with God.

That

That I must die as a Man, is certain ; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the mid'st of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects beeing helpless Spectators, My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Mee not to hope otherwise, as to man's cruelty ; however, I despair not of God's infinite Mercie.

I know My Life is the object of the Devil's and wicked men's malice ; but yet under God's sole custodie and disposal : Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die ; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to laie them out to Mee. I confess it is not easie for Mee to contend with those manie horrors of death, wherewith God suffer's Mee to bee tempted ; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination ; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (beeing more solemnly cruel) will, it may bee, seek to add (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockerie of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice : That I may bee destroyed, as with greater

pomp and artifice, so with less pittie, it will bee but a necessarie policie to make My death appear as an Act of Justice don by Subject's upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man invest's them with anie power of Judicature without Mee, much less against Mee: and who, beeing sworn and bound by all that is Sacred before God and man to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjurie.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for anie man to have his Enemies to bee Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subject's against their Sovereign: wherein those, who have had the chiefeest hand, and are most guiltie of contriving the Publick Troubles, must by shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guiltie before God and man; and, I believ, in their own consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing make's mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, then this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguis at first the monstrosities of their designs,

signs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, bee cast out and slain.

With them My greatest fault must bee, that I would not either destroye My self with the Church and State by My Word; or not suffer them to do it, unresisted by the Sword, whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which som men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitless, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will bee don: I doubt not but My Innocencie will finde him both My Protector and My Advocate, who is My onely Judg; whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the Eminencie of his Power and Majestie above them; but also for that singular Care and Protection, which hee hath over them: who knowe's them to bee exposed to as manie dangers (beeing the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will hee suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselvs : the injuries I have susteined from them shall bee first punished by them, who agree'd in nothing so much as in opposing Mee.

Their impatience to bear the loud crie of My blood shall make them think no waie better to expiate it, then by shedding their's, who with them most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions, following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Mee by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which God alone (who onely could) hath manie waies pleaded My caus; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacie in sin was their onely securitie; who have caus to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroie them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he give's Mee not onely the honor to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness-sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can
both

both forgive them, and praie for them, that God would not impute My blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christ's blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seem's to bee their onely Rule, their power the Measure, and their success the Exactor of what they pleas to call Justice; while they flatter themselvs with the Fancie of their own safetie by My Danger, and the securitie of their lives and designs by My Death: forgetting that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.

I blefs God, I praie not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Mee, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands, by deserting Mee, are sprinkled, or, by acting and consenting to My death, are embrued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without anie pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think, becom's a Christian toward his Enemies; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I
am

am content to lose, when God see's fit by their hands to take it from Mee; whose Mercie, I believ, will more then infinitely recompens what ever by man's injustice hee is pleased to deprive Mee of.

The glorie attending My death will far surpass all I could enioie, or conceiv in life.

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the shadows of My earthlie Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenlie Kingdom with Himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessarie Tyrannie of My Destroyers wil sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie against Mee; I am perswaded I am happie in the Judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not onely Pittie and Praie for Mee, but would bee content even to Die with Mee, or for Mee.

These know, how to excuse My failings, as a man; and yet to retein, and paie their dutie to Mee as their King; there beeing no Religious necessitie binding anie Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoiment
of

of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believ, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by My ruine, do alreadie feel sharp Convictions, and som remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Mee in the Measure of God's retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enioie their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretens of paring other's nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefeft strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may bee like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine Justice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the lowest and meanest people op'ning upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worst-used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Mee, the Church, and State.

My chiefeft comfort in death consist's in My Peace, which, I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Mee and My causeless enemies: where, I doubt not, but, his righteous
judgment

judgment will confute their fallacie, who from worldlie success (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for God's approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (wee know) oft permit's manie events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approve's.

I am confident, the Justice of My Cause, and cleareness of My Conscience before God and toward My People, will carrie Mee, as much above them in God's decision, as their successes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that, manie times, those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applaus of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness & oppression of the design. The prosperous windes, which oft fill the sails of Pirats, do not justifie their Piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the just libertie of My Subject's, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success,

cess, over-born them all; as som men have now evidently don, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The praiers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shal more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand (if it must bee so) then they can give it to Mee, whose hands are unjustly & barbarously lifted up against Mee.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to ow more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, where-with these desire I might still contend.

I shall bee more then Conqueror through Christ enabling Mee; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I ow for sin to nature, shall bee raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; And, although death bee the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of other's sins, as men, both against God and
Mee;

Mee; yet, as I hope, My own sins are so remitted, that they shall bee no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of My destruction.

The Trophees of My charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Mee.

Though their sin bee Prosperous, yet they had need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardoned: Both which I praie God they may obtain; that My temporal death, unjustly inflicted by them, may not bee revenged by God's just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far less deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Mee over-board; though it bee verie strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storm themselvs have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My enemies's crueltie cannot prevent My Preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soul with My Bodie; of whose salvation while some of them have themselvs seemed, and taught others

others to Despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much Desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying Mee even the assistance of anie of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternal life; in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us; and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to bee dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves to bee deprived of thee.

O make the manie bitter Aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt bee with Mee, I shall neither fear, nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the vallie of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.

*O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die
with*

with Mee as a Man; make Mee to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou My Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slaiest Mee, yet thou hast encouraged Mee to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favor from Mee, which is better then life.

O bee not far from Mee, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to Mee.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discover's, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire My destruction.

O shew Mee the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of their's.

Thou givest Mee leav as a man to praie, that this cup may pass from Mee; but thou hast taught Mee as a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not My will, but thine bee don.

Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in Mee bee so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will, in either life or death.

As I believ thou hast forgiv'n all the errors of My life, so I hope thou wilt save Mee from the terrors of My death.

Make Mee content to leav the world's nothing, that I may com really to enjoie all in thee, who hast made Christ unto Mee in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though

Though My Destroyers forget their Dutie to thee and Mee; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to bee Merciful to them.

For what profit is there in My blood; or in their gaining My Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted My just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against My self, though they may deseru, yet let them not receiue to themselves damnation.

Thou mad'st thy Son a Saviour to manie that crucified Him, while at once he suffered Violently by them, and yet Willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood bee heard for My Murtherers, louder then the crie of Mine against them.

Prepare them for thy Mercie by due convictions of their sin; and let them not at once deceiue and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Mee, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against Mee chiefly tempt's them to use all extremities against Mee.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to Mee as verie fals, so verie cruel; who, pretending to preserue Mee, have meditated nothing but My ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirstie and deceitful men; but overcome their crueltie with thy compassion, and My charitie.

*And when thou makest inquisition for My blood,
O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with
the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel
may pass over them.*

*Though they think My Kingdoms on earth too
little to entertain at once both them and Mee; yet
let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite Mercie
at last receiv both Mee and My enemies :*

*When, beeing reconciled to thee in the blood of
the same Redeemer, wee shall live far above
these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal
enmities.*

*When their hands shall bee heaviest, and cruellest
upon Mee, O let Mee fall into the arms of thy tender
and eternal Mercies.*

*That what is cut off of My life, in this miserable
moment, may bee repaired in thy ever-blessed
Eternitie.*

*Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for My
eyes have seen Thy salvation.*

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

F I N I S.

PRAIERS,

Used by His

MAJESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor *Fuxon* bishop of
L O N D O N immediately before
His Death.

Also a Letter from the P R I N C E.

A Praier in time of Captivitie,



Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My Misericordie with thine eye of Mercie, and let thine infinite Power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto mee, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over mee; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice:

flice: But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom
 this bee the aptest chastisement for My un-
 excusable transgressions ; if this ingrateful
 bondage bee fittest for My over-high desires;
 if the pride of My (not enough humble)
 heart bee thus to bee broken; O Lord, I
 yeeld unto Thy will, and cheerfully imbrace
 what sorrow Thou wilt have Mee suffer :
 Onely thus much let Mee crave of Thee,
 (Let My craving, O Lord, bee accepted of,
 since it even proceed's from Thee) that, by
 Thy goodnes which is Thy self, Thou wilt
 suffer som beam of Thy Majestie so to shine
 in My minde, that I, who acknowledg it My
 Noblest Title to bee Thy Creature, may still,
 in My greatest Afflictions, depend confi-
 dently on Thee. Let Calamitie bee the exer-
 cise, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O
 let not their prevailing power bee to My de-
 struction. And if it bee Thy will that they
 more and more vex Mee with punishment ;
 yet, O Lord, never let their wickednes have
 such a hand, but that I may still carrie a pure
 minde, and stedfast resolution ever to serv
 Thee, without fear or presumption; yet with
 that humble Confidence which may best
 pleas Thee : so that at the last I may com to
 Thy eternal Kingdom through the Merits of
 Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ.

Amen.

Another

Another Prayer.

A Lmighty and most merciful Father, look down upon Mee Thy unworthie servant, who here prostrate My self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Mee, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthie to stand before Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holie and eternal God! for as in sin I was conceived and born; so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandments by My sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting manie Duties I ought to do, and committing manie Vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of Thy heaue Displeasure: as for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to com, if Thou should'st deal with Mee according to My deserts. I confess, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever) and Thy Compassion (which never fail's) which is the caus that I have not been long ago consumed: but with Thee there is Mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of

Thy Mercies and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou would'st not enter into judgment with Thy servant, nor bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, but bee Thou merciful unto Mee, and wash away all My sins with that pretious blood that My Saviour shed for Mee. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins; but also to purge My heart by Thy holie Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption: and as Thou do'st add daies to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to add repentance to My daies, that when I have past this mortal life, I may bee partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

*A Praier and Confession made in and for
the times of Affliction.*

ALmightie and most merciful Father, as it is onely Thy goodness that admit's of Our imperfect Praiers, and the knowledg that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us anie hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessarie Dutie to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so
much

much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Mee, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to bee shed by a fals pretended waie of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong waie of Thy Worship, to bee set up in *Scotland?* and injured the Bishops in *England?* O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldlie wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faultie: Grant therefore, merciful Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that thou maiest clear the waie for Thine own Mercies; to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Mee Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations, and a Discerning spirit, to chuse what is best for Thy Church and People, which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Praier

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most merciful Father, though My sins are so manie and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free Mee from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to reliev all those who with humble and unfained repentance com to Thee for succour, it were to multiplie, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenlie favor: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Mee out of the hands, and protect Mee from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against My hainous Offenses will not otherwaies bee satisfied, then by suffering Mee to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will bee don; yet, with humble Importunitie, I do and shall never leav to implore the assistance of Thy heavenlie Spirit, that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Minde, that with clearness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloodie Trial; that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee; but likewise bee a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Mee, even Jesus Christ the Righteous, *Amen.*

F I N I S.



A Copie of a Letter which was sent from
the PRINCE to the KING; Dated
from the HAGUE, Jan. 23. 1648.

SIR!

HAVING no means to come to the knowledg of
Your Majestie's present condition, but such
as I receiv from the Prints, or (which is as un-
certain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour
to wait upon Your Majestie; and to bring Mee an
account of it: that I may withal assure Your Ma-
jestie, I do not onely praise for Your Majestie accor-
ding to my Dutie; but shall alwaies bee readie to do
all which shall bee in My power, to deserv that
blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majestie
upon

SIR,

Hague, Jan. 23.
1648.

Your MAJESTIE'S most humble

and most obedient Son and

Servant,

CHARLS.

The Supercription was thus,

For the King.

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Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth's own Hand.

WHat the King said to mee the nine and twentieth of Jan. 1648, beeing the last time I had the happines to see Him; Hee told mee, Hee was glad I was com, & although Hee had not time to saie much, yet somewhat Hee had to saie to mee, which Hee had not to another, or leav in writing; becaus Hee feared their Crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to mee. Hee wished mee not to grieve and torment my self for Him; for that would bee a glorious death that Hee should die; it beeing for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, & for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. Hee bid mee read Bishop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Politie*, and Bishop *Laud's* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground mee against Poperie. Hee told mee, Hee had forgiv'n all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of my Brothers & Sisters to forgive them. Hee bid mee tell my Mother, That His thoughts had never straid from Her, and that His Love should bee the same to the last. Withal, Hee commanded mee and my Brother to bee obedient to Her. And bid mee send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends. So after Hee had giv'n mee His Blessing, I took my leav.

Further, Hee commanded Us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most fals to Him, and to those that gave them power, and Hee feared also to their own souls: And desired mee not to grieve for Him, for Hee should die a *Martyr*, and that Hee doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that Wee should bee all happier, then Wee could have expected to have been, if Hee had lived: With manie other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elisabeth.

Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that Hee would saie nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: Hee told him, that Hee heard the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if hee regarded the welfare of his Soul; for hee had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and hee would provide for him.



An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

So falls that statelie Cedar: while it stood,
 That was the onely Glorie of the Wood:
 Great CHARLES, thou earthlie God, Celestial Man,
 Whose life, like other's, though it were a Span;
 Yet in that Span was comprehended more
 Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
 Thy heav'nlie Virtues Angels should reherf;
 It is a theme too high for humane Vers.
 Hee that would know Thee right then, let him look
 Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
 And read it o'r'e and o'r'e; which if hee do,
 Hee'l finde thee King, & Priest, and Prophet too;
 And sadly see our loss; and, though in vain,
 With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.
 Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hers,
 Though there were neither Monument nor Vers.
 Thy Suff'rings & Thy Death let no man name;
 It was Thy Glorie, but the Kingdom's Shame.

J. H.

ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θεῶν, Πατριῶν ἃ Νόμων, ὃχ' αἰεὶ
 Σκηπτεῦχος ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖ χειρὶν ἀλειψίων.

FINIS.

For Mr. *Alexander Henderson.*

His Majesties first Paper.

Mr. Henderson;



Know very well what a great disadvantage it is for Me, to maintaine an Argument of Divinity with so able and learned a man as your self, it being your, not My profession; which really was the cause that made me desire to hear some learned Man argue My Opinion with you, of whose abilities I might be confident, that I should not be led into an error, for want of having all which could be said, laid open unto me: For indeed, My humour is such, that I am still partiall for that side, which I imagine suffers for the weaknesse of those that maintaine it; alwayes thinking that equall Champions would cast the ballance on the other part; yet since that you (thinking that it will save time) desire to go another way, I shall not contest with you in it, but treating you as my Physician, give you leave to take your own way of cure; only I thought fit to warn you, lest if you, (not I) should be mistaken in this, you would be faine (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from My Infancy I was blest with the King My Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happinesse to Me, all his days, and among all his cares for My education, his chief was to settle Me right in Religion; in the true knowledge of which, he made himselfe so eminent to all the world, that, I am sure, none can call in question the brightnesse of his Fame, in that particular, without shewing their own ignorant base malice: He it was, who laid in Me

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the grounds of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worthiness of My Instructor be considered, or the not few years that I have been settled in My principles, it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easy worke, to make me alter them; and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to St. Pauls rule, *Rom. 14. 22*) been happy in *Not condemning My self, in that thing which I allow*. Thus having shewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to these present miserable distractions.

No one thing made me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of *England*, than that it was done (according to the Apostles defence, *Acts 24. 18.*) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I conceive to have only the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made me alwaies confident, that the work was very perfect, as to essentials; of which number Church Government being undoubtedly one; I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if their had been cause, which opinion of mine, was soon turned into more than a confidence, when I perceived that in this partticular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universall custom of the primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of a lawful Priesthood, & then, how the Sacraments can be duly administered, is easy to judge: These are the principall Reatons, which make me believe that Bishops are necessary for a Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give My consent for their expulsion out of *England*; but I have another obligation, that to My particular, is a no less tie of Conscience, which is, My *Coronation Oath*:

Oath : Now if (as *S. Paul* saith, *Rom. 14. 23.*) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat, what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to My peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured My selfe?*

Now consider, ought I not to *keep My self from presumptuous sins?* and you know who says, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole World, and lose his own Soule?* Wherefore My constant maintenance of *Episcopacy* in *England*, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdom) Me thinks, should be rather commended than wondered at; My Conscience directing Me to maintaine the laws of the Land, which being only My endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, *What warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience, or to make him alter Laws against his will?* If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if My judgement in Religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse Me, to be constant to the Grounds which the *King My Father* taught Me.

Newcastle May 29.

1646.

C. R.

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. Alex. Henderfons first Paper:

SIR,

I. IT is your Majesties Royall goodnesse, and not My merit, that hath made your Majesty to conceive any opinion of My abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from your Majesty)

ought in all duty to be improved for your Majesties satisfaction. And this intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modest expression of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the University. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majesties purpose to have the Question disputed by Divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cause) have undertaken alone; and which seldom or never hath proved an effectuall way, for finding of truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquish their former Tenents, *Dum res transit à iudicio in affectum*, witnesse the Polemicks between the Papists and us, and among our selves about the matter now in hand, these many years past.

2. Sir, when I consider your Majesties education under the hands of such a Father; the length of time wherein your Majesty hath been settled in your principles of Church-Government; the Arguments which have continually in privat and publick, especially of late at Oxford, filled your Majesties ears for the Divine right thereof; your Coronation oath, and divers State reasons which your Majesty doth not mention, I doe not wonder, nor think it any strange thing, that your Majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous *Ioannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable reasons (which no rationall man will contradict) *That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reason telleth him is false, much lesse is it possible for any man to have his reason commanded by the will, or at the pleasure of another.*

2. It is a true saying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quod specificationem*

onem, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter: but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise than my reason teacheth me. Yet Sir, I hope your Majesty wil acknowledg, (for your paper professeth no less) that according to the saying of *Ambrose*, *Non est pudor ad meliora transire*, it is neither sin nor shame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperour *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*) allegeth all those motives, from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the *Roman* Empire, and from the laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the antient Pagan profession of the *Romans*, against the embracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jewes for *Moses* against *Crisp*; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy it self, against the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more strength against the change now, than they had in former times.

3. But your Majesty may perhaps say, That this is *Petitio Principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the Question; and I confesse it were so, if there can be no reason brought for a Reformation or Change; your Majesty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by those who had the Reforming power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wisht that Religion where there is need, were alwaies reformed in that manner, and by such power, and that it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves; not left to the multitude, whom God stirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Jacob* reform his owne Family, *Moses* destroyed the golden Calf, the good Kings of *Judah* reformed the Churches in their time: but that such reformation

mation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Asa* took away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect, for *Jehosaphat* removed the high places, yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hezekiah* that brake the brazen Serpent, and *Josiah* destroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogie, *That like unto him there was no King before him.* It is too well known that the Reformation of K. Hen. 8. was most imperfect in the Essentials of Doctrine, Worship, and Government: And although it proceeded by some degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the Head was changed, *Dominus non Dominium*, and the whole limbs of the Antichristian Hierarchy retained, upon what snares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchantets of the Clergy, I need not expresse. It was a hard saying of *Romanorum Malleus* Grosted of *Lincoln*, That Reformation was not to be expected, *Nisi in ore gladii cruentandi*: yet this I may say, that the Laodicean lukewarmnesse of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this Kingdom; occasion of more Schism and Separation than ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other Churches, which God did blesse with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reserved for your Majesty, that to your comfort and everlasting fame the praise of godly *Josiah* may be made yours; which yet will be no dispraise to your Royall Father, or *Edward* the sixth, or any other religious Princes before you; none of them having so fair an opportunity as is now by the supreme providence put into your Royall hands. My soul trembleth to think and to foresee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither use the words of *Mordecai*, *Esth.* 4. 14. nor what *Savonarola* told another

ther Charls, because I hope better things from your Majesty.

4. To the Argument brought by your Majesty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they bin all about you, could more briefly, and yet so fully and strongly have expressed) [*That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to the constant universall practice of the Primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence as by the alteration of it, we should deprive our selves of the Lawfulnesse of Priesthood* (I think your Majesty means a lawful Ministry) *and then how the Sacraments can be administered is easie to judge.*] I humbly offer these considerations: First, what was not in the times of the Apostles, cannot be deduced from them: We say in Scotland, it cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben; but (not to insist now in a Liturgy, and things of that kinde) therewer no such Hierarchy, no such difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apostles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Suu-beam, that Presbyter and Bishop are to the Apostles one and the same thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apostles intending to set down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and speaking so often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occasion, but of set purpose, do neiher expresse nor imply any such Pastor or Bishop as hath power over other Pastors, although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly exprest the office, gifts, and duties of the meanest Officers, such as Deacons, 3. That in the Ministry of the New Testament there is a comely, beautifull, and divine order and subordination; one

kinde of Ministers both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apostles first, the Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks : but we cannot finde in Offices of the same kinde, that one hath majority of power, or priority of degree before another ; no Apostle above other Apostles (unlesse in morall respects) no Evangelist above other Evangelists ; of Deacon above other Deacons ; why then a Pastor above other Pastors ? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kinde, onely in the office of Pastor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Ministry, which are commonly called, *The power of Order and Jurisdiction*, are by the Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop : And that, *Matth. 15. 16, 17.* the gradation in matter of Discipline or Church-censures, is from one, to two, or more ; and if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church ; he saith not tell it to the Bishop : there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent. If these considerations do not satisfie, your Majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the the practice of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papists for such traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Testimony must be the Rule. We can have no certaine knowledge of the practice universall of the Church for many years; *Eusebius* the prime Historian confesseth so much : the learned *Iosephus Scaliger* testifieth, That from the end of the *Acts* of the *Apostles* untill a good time after, no certainty can be had from Ecclesiastical Authors

thors about Church matters. It is true, *Diotrophes* sought the preheminance in the Apostles times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times some puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weaknesse, endeavoured alteration of Church-Government, but that all the learned and godly of those times consented to such a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your Majesty will deny the lawfulness of a Ministry, and the due administration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Diocesan Bishops, sith it is not onely manifest by Scripture, but a great many of the strongest Champions for Episcopacy, do confesse, that Presbyters may Ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptism administred by a private person, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter although not ordained by a Bishop, are not one and the same thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from your Majesties Coronation Oath; I confesse, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (so sacred a thing is it, and so high a point of Religion) much tendernesse is required: and farre bee it from us, who desire to observe our own Solemne Oath, to presse your Majesty with the violation of yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humblenesse and sincerity to lay before your Majesties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger discourse) that although no humane authority can dispense with an Oath, *Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum*; yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaseth: As when we swear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaseth to be

be our Lord and Superiour; for then the formall cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the Obligation, *Sublata causa tollitur effectus; sublato relato, tollitur Correlatum*. Or when any Oath hath a speciall reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the Obligation ceaseth; because all such Oathes from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, your Majesties Oath doth not binde you, or your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopall Government in *Scotland*, and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of *England*. And I assure my self, that your Majesty did not intend at the taking of your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should finde an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) you should lose your selfe, and your Posterity and Crown, that you would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If your Majesty still object, *that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable*, that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning your piety to your Royall Father, and teacher of happy memory, with which your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King *James* never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; That his Majesty did swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*, that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Basilicon Doron*, his Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospell, than the Pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and
that

that he conceived the Prelates to favour of the Popish Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghost now speak to your Majesty) He would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards for those men who will chuse rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruine, than that they perish alone. The Lord give your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

A Reply to His Answer to My first Paper,
June 6. 1646.

His Majesties second Paper.

Mr. Henderson.

IF it had been the Honour of the Cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you, (whose Answer to My former paper is sufficient, without further proofs, to justify My opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for My particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines, would be most effectually; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I must best know, how My self may be best satisfied, for certainly My taste cannot be guided by another mans palate, & indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *persons* or *books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give Me satisfaction: The foreseeing of which, made Me at first (for the saving of Time) desire that some of those Divines, which I gave you in a List, might be sent for.

2. Con-

2 Concerning your second Section, I were much too blame, if I should not submit to that saying of Saint *Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found lesse ingenuous than you shew your self to be in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, That as I shall not be ashamed *to change for the better*, so I must see that it is *better* before I *change*, otherwise, inconstancy in this were both sin and shame; & remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that *no mans reason can be commanded by another mans will*.

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I do not understand, how those Examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of *Reformation*, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawfull, those having been all by the Regal Authority; and because *Henry the eighths Reformation* was not perfect, will it prove that of *King Edward and Queen Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new *mood and figure* must be found out to form a *Syllogisme*. whereby to prove that: but however, you are mistaken; for, no man who truly understands the *English Reformation*, will derive it from *Henry the Eighth*, for he onely gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and *Queen Eliz.* that perfected it; nor did I ever averre, that the beginning of any humane Action was perfect, no more than you can prove that *God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the negligence of Princes*: for, you know, there is much difference between *Permission* and *Approbation*: But all this time I find no *Reasons* (according to your promise) for a *Reformation or Change* (I mean since *Queen Elizabeths time*.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his saying, it is well you come off it, with [*yet this I may say*]

say] for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justifie that *bloody ungodly saying*: and for your comparing our Reformation here to the *Laudicean Lukewarmnesse* proved by Complaints, Grievings, &c. all that doth, and but unhandsomely, *Petere Principium*; nor can Generalls satisfie Me; for, you must first prove, that those men had reason to complain those Churches to be grieved, and, how we were truly the causers of this Schism and separation: as for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of My two main arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me; it is I must make good the *Affirmative*, for I believe a *Negative* cannot be proved: instead of which, if you had made appear the *practice* of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*, you had done much; for I dare averre that this Government was never practised before *Calvins time*; the *affirmative* of which, I leave you to prove; My task being to shew the *lawfulness* and *succession of Episcopacy*, and as I believe, the *necessity* of it: for doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal, may, one way or another give Me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some Learned man, whom I can trust, to find out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame Me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the *fallaciousnesse* of My *Argument* (to My knowledge) it was never My *practice*, nor do I confesse to have begun now: For, if the *practice* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universall consent of the Fathers*, be not a convincing Argument, when the *interpretation of Scripture is doubtfull*, I know nothing; For, if this be not; then of necessity the *interpretation*
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of *private spirits* must be admitted: the which contradicts *St. Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring these Kingdoms into confusion: and to say, that an argument is ill, because the *Papists* use it, or, that such a thing is good, because it is the custome of some of the *Reformed Churches*; cannot weigh with Me, untill you prove these to be *infallible*, or to maintain *no Truth*: and how *Diotrephes* ambition (who directly opposed the Apostle *S. Iohn*) can be an Argument against *Episcopacy*, I do not understand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I censure their *Actions*; as you must prove, before I confesse it, that *Presbyters without a Bishop may lawfully ordaine other Presbyters*: and as for the Administration of Baptism, as I think none will say, that a Woman can lawfully, or duly Administer it, though when done it be *valid*; so none ought to do it, but a lawful *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary for the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of *Oathes* in generall, and their severall obligations, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in question, to be guided by you own *Rule*, which is [*when an Oath hath a speciuall reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire, or consent, the Obligation ceaseth.*] Now, it must be known, to whom this Oath hath reference, and to whose benefit? the Answer is clear, only to the *Church of England*; as by the Record will be plainly made appear; and you must mistake in alleging, that the two *Houses of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory* power, for (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this Church never did
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submit, nor was subordinate to them; and that it was only the King and Clergy, who made the Reformation, the Parliament meerly serving to help to give the civil Sanction: all this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is only the Church of England (in whose favour I took this Oath) that can release me from it: wherefore when the Church of England (being lawfully assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self so.

8. To your last, concerning the King My Father, of happy and famous Memory, both for his Piety and Learning; I must tell you, that I had the happiness, to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident in the knowledge of his Opinions; for, I dare say, should his Ghost now speak, he would tell you, that a bloody Reformation was never lawfull, as not Warranted by Gods word, and that *Preces & lacrymae sunt Arma Ecclesia.*

9. To conclude, having replied to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me no Answer to My last Quare; it may be you are (as Chaucer sayes) like the people of England, *What they not like they never understand*: But in earnest, that Question is so pertinent to the purpose in hand, that it will much serve for My satisfaction; and besides it may be usefull for other things.

Newcastle, June 6. 1646.

C. R.

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. Alex. Hendersons second Paper.

SIR,

THE smaller the encouragements be, in relation to the successe, (which how small they are, your
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Majesty well knowes:) the more apparent, and, I hope the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majesties command: yet while I consider, that the way of man is not in himself, nor is it in man that walketh; to direct his owne steps; and when I remember how many supplications, with strong crying and tears, have been openly and in secret offered up in your Majesties behalfe, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reason to despair of a blessed successe.

1. I have been averse, from a Disputation of Divines, 1. For saving of time; which the present exigence and extremity of affairs, make more than ordinarily precious; While *Archimides* at *Syracuse* was drawing his figures and circlings in the sand, *Marcellus* interrupted his Demonstration. 2. Because the common result of Disputes of this kinde, answerable to prejudicate opinions of the parties, is rather Victory, than Verity; while *tantum tentativi Dialectici*, they study more to overcome their adverse party, than to be overcome of Truth, although this be the most glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me, nor expected by Me. I never judged so meanly of the Cause, nor so highly of my self, as to venture it upon such weaknesse. Much more might be spoken to this purpose; but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majesty with that which is contained in the second Section; hoping that your Majesty will no more insist upon *Education*, *prescription of time*, &c. which are sufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majesty acknowledges) must give place to Reason, and are no sure ground of resolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: although it be true that the most part of
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men make these and the like, to be the ground and rule of their Faith: and Evidence that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need have a preface to so Thorny a Theam, as your Majesty hath brought me upon.

1. For the *Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a Generall Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, so that scarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a generall Councell is necessary; but, because that can hardly be obtained, severall Kingdoms (which we see was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reforme themselves and that by the anuthority of their Prince, and Magistrates: if the Prince or supreme Magistrate, be unwilling, then may the Inferiour Magistrate and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own sphere; and if the light shine upon all, or the Major part, they may, after all other means assayed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or spoke; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majesty, or to the Kings, and supreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they should draw the mindes, tongues, and pens of the learned, to dispute about other matters, than the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kind your Majesty hath suffered and lost more, than will easily be restored to your self or your posterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes: *Quibus--deficientibus*, it comes to the inferiour Magistrate, *Quibus Deficientibus*, it descendeth to the body of the people; supposing that there is a necessity of Reformation, and that by no

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means it can be obtained of their Superiours. It is true that such a Reformation, is more imperfect, in respect of the instruments, and manner of procedure; yet for the most part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the examples of old Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the second way of perfection, except that of *Josiah*. Concerning the saying of *Grostead*, whom the *Cardinalls at Rome* confest to be a more Godly man, than any of themselves, it was his complaint, and prediction of what was likely to ensue, not his desire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartiall Witnesses, *Jewel* and *Bilson*, both famous English Bishops, to prove that the Tumults and troubles raised in *Scotland*, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papists opposing of the Reformation, both of Doctrin & Discipline, as an Hereticall innovation; and not to be ascribed to the Nobility, or people, who under God, were the Instruments of it; intending and seeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and settling of the truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in King *Henry* the eighths time, it was not finished by Queen *Elizabeth*: the Father stirred the humours of the diseased Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reason to blesse God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This perfection is reserved for your Majesty. Where it is said *that all this time I bring no Reasons, for a further change*; the fourth Section, of my last paper, hath many hints of Reasons against *Episcopall Government*, with an offer of more or clearing of thoe; which your Majesty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men have observed ma-
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ny defects in that Reformation : As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this is the Question now) is not builded upon the foundation of *Christ* and the *Apostles* ; which they , at least cannot deny , who professe *Church-Government* to be *mutable* and *ambulatory* ; and such were the greater part of *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops* in *England* , contenting themselves with the *Constitutions* of the Church , and the *Authoeity* and *Munificence* of *Princes* , till of late , that some few have pleaded it to be *Iure Divino* : That , the *English Reformation* hath not perfectly purged out the *Roman Leaven* ; which is one of the Reasons that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of *Laodicea* , as being neither hot nor cold , neither *Papist* nor *Reformed* , but of a Lukewarm temper , betwixt the two : That it hath depraved the *Discipline* of the Church , by conforming of it to the *Civil policy* : That it hath added many Church Offices , higher and lower , unto those instituted by the Son of God ; which is as unlawfull as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine institution : And other the like , which have moved some to apply this saying to the Church of *England* , *multi ad perfectionem pervenerint ; nisi jam se pervenisse crederent*.

4. In my Answer to the first of your Majesties many Arguments , I brought a Breviate of some Reasons to prove , That a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are one and the same in Scripture : from which , by necessary consequence I did infer the Negative ; Therefore , no difference in Scripture between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter* ; the one name signifying , *Industriam Curia pastoralis* ; the other , *Sapientia Maturitatem* , saith *Beda*. And whereas your Majesty averres , That the *Presbyterian Government* was never practised , Before *Calvins time* ; Your Majestie knowes ;

the common Objection of the *Papists* against the *Reformed Churches*; Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before *Luthers* time? One part of the common Answer is, *That it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture*: The same I affirm of Presbyterian Government: And for the proving of this, the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, have made manifest, *tht the Primitive Christian Church at Ierusalem was governed by a Presby*: While they shew, First, That, the Church of *Ierusalem* consisted of more Congregations than one, from the multitude of Believers; from the many Apostles, and other Preachers in the Church, and from the Diversity of Languages among the believers. 2. That all those congregations, were under one Presbyterianall government, because they were, for Government, one Church, *Acts* eleven, *verse* twenty two, twenty six. And because that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts* 11. 30. Which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government; And the Apostles themselves, in that meeting, *Acts* 15. acted not as Apostles, but as Elders: stating the Question, debating it, in the ordinary way of disputation; and having, by search of Scripture, found the will of God, they concluded, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us*: which in the judgment of the Learned, may be spoken by any assembly, upon like evidences of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, &c. in the times of the Apostles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made *Episcopus praeses*, even then, *Communi Presbyterorum Consilio gubernabantur*, saith Saint *Ierome* & *Episcopos magis consuetudine, quam Dispositionis Divina veritate. Presbyteris esse majores, & in*
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Cemune debere Ecclesiam regere.

5. Far be it from me to think such a thought, as that your Majesty did intend any fallacy, in your other main Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to distinguish between *Intentio operantis*, & *Conditio operis*, so may we in this case consider the difference between *Intentio Argumentis*, & *Conditio Argumenti*. And where your Majesty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the *Interpretations of private Spirits*, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostle St. Peter and will prove to be of dangerous consequence; I humbly offer to be considered by your Majesty, what some of chief note among the Papists themselves have taught us, That the *Interpretation of Scripture*, and the *Spirits* whence they proceed, may be called *private* in a threefold sence. 1. *Ratione personæ*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. *Ratione modi & Medii*, when persons, although not private, use not the publick means which are necessary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. *Ratione finis*, when the interpretation is not proposed as Authentick to bind others, but is intended only for our own private satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apostle Peter; the third ought not to be censured: But that Interpretation which is Authentick, and of Supreme Authority, which even mans Conscience is bound to yeeld unto, is of an higher nature. And although the Generall Councell should resolve it, and the consent of the Fathers should be had unto it, yet there must alwaies be place left to the judgment of discretion, as *Davenant*, late Bishop of *Salisbury*, besides divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his book, *De Iudice contraversiarum*; where also the power of Kings in matter of Religion,

is solidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely I adde; one is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Bishop having sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, will never be found in *prime Antiquity*. The other is, That many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichrist*, which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Question of *Hierarchy*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Christian Church, at, and since the beginning of the Reformation, have discovered many secrets; concerning the *Antichrist* and his *Hierarchy*, which were not known to former Ages: And diverse of the Learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this last Age, is unthankfull to God, who hath so plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generations, and ungrateful towards those men, who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to Gods Church, have travelled therein: This might be instanced in many places of Scripture: I winde together *Diotrephes* and the *Mystery of Iniquity*, the one as an old example of Church-ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves: And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the *great Mystery* of the Papacy at last.

6. Although your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censure them, and their actions, as, without Bishops, in your judgement they cannot have a lawfull Ministry, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments: Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion I did alledge what I purposed, your Majesty would not have denied.

1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Ordain

dain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptism, administred by such a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptism administred by a private person, or a Midwife. Of the first, your Majesty calls for proof: I told before that in Scripture, it is manifest, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the prophesie, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*; so it is in the English Translation: and the word *Presbytery*, so often as it is used in the New Testament, always signifies the *persons*, and not the *Office*. And although the Offices of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were distinct; yet doth not the *Presbyter* derive his power of Order, from the *Bishop*. The Evangelists were inferior to the Apostles; yet had they their power, not from the Apostles, but from CHRIST. The same I affirm of the 70 Disciples, who had their power immediately from CHRIST, no lesse than the Apostles had theirs. It may upon better reason be averred, That the Bishops have their power from the Pope; than that Presbyters have their power from Prelates. It is true, *Ierome* saith, *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the same place he proves from Scripture, that *Episcopus & Presbyter* are one and the same; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Bishop, he speaketh of the degenerated custome of his time. 2. Concerning *Baptism*, a private person may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it, and of the Eucharist; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unlesse it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a person made publick and clothed with authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of Baptism, is begot by an other Errour, of the absolute Necessity of Baptism.

7. To that which hath been said, concerning your Majesties Oath, I shall adde nothing; not being wil-

ling to enter upon the Question, of the subordination of the Church to the Civil power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an headship as the kings of *England* hath claimed, and such a Supremacy as the 2 Houses of Parliament crave, with the appeals from the supreme Ecclesiasticall Iudicature to them as set over the Church, in the same line of Subordination, I do utterly disclaim, upon such reasons to give my self satisfaction, although no man shall be mor willing to submit to civill powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble than my self: only concerning the application of the Generalls of an Oath, to the particular case now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of *England*, is, or ought to be principally intended in your Oath: For, although they were esteemed to be the Representative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective; *Salus populi*, being *Suprema Lex*, and to be principally intended. Your Maiesty knowes it was so in the Church of *Scotland*, where the like alteration was made And if nothing of this kind can be done without the consent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in *France*, or *Spain*, or *Rome* it selfe? Its not to be expected, that the *Pope*, or *Prelat* will consent to their own ruine.

8. I will not presume upon any secret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King your Majesties Father, of famous Memory; they being much better known to your Majesty. I did onely produce, what was profest by him, before the World: And although *Prayers and Tears be the Armes of the Church*; yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to *force the Church to put on these Arms*: Nor could I ever hear a reason, why a necessary Defensive War against unjust Violence is unlawful,

ful, although it be joyned with offence and invasion which is intended for Defence, but so that Arms are laid down when the offensive war ceaseth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other side, was, in the nature thereof, Defensive,

9. Concerning the forcing of Conscience, which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now but without forcing of my Conscience, to speake of. Our Conscience may be said to be forced; either by our selves, or by others. By our selves: 1. When we stop the ear of our Conscience and will not hearken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately, *Ne si persuaseris, persuadebis*; which is no lesse than the resisting the Holy Ghost, and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when they stop the mouth, and suppress the clamours of our Conscience; resolving rather to suffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, than to make profession of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we sear our Conscience, as with an hot Iron, that it becommeth senseless; which is the punishment of the former: unto which is opposed, the truly tender Conscience; such as *Isiah* had, *2 Kings* 22. 19 Again, 1. Our Conscience is said to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it selfe evil and unlawful; which if it admit, against our own Conscience, we sin two wayes? one is, *by doing that which is in it selfe evil and unlawful*; the other is, *by doing it against a dictate of Conscience*, which is a contempt of God, whose Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that wch. is in it self good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of Conscience we judge it to be evil & unlawful: in this case if we do not that which is prest upon us, we sin, because the thing is good and lawful: And if we do it, we sin, because we do against our Conscience. Which in this case bindeth; but obligeth not; and yet there is a way to escape out of this Labyrinth, it being repugnant

pugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a necessity of sinning upon any man: The only way is, to lay aside a Conscience, it being a part of the *Old Man*, which we are commanded to put off; otherwise, we being sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old error, we rather do violence to our conscience, our selves than suffer violence from others. The application for Answering the *Quære*, I leave to your Majesty.

Newcastle, June 17. 1646.

For Master *Alexander Henderson*.

His MAJESTIES third Paper.

1. **I**T were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me to vie preambles with you: For, it is *Truth* I seek, and neither Praise nor Victory, therefore I shall only insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to My own satisfaction; in order to which I desire the assistance of some Divines; whereupon I will insist no further, save only to wish, that you may not, (as I have known many men do) lose time, by being mistaken in the way to save it; wherein I have only sought to disburden My self, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning My Education and reason; but then remember, that *another mans will*, is at least, as weak a ground, to build My faith upon, as My former education.

3. In this there are two points; First, concerning the *Reforming power*, then anent the *English Reformation*: For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly, which

which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall mainly differ with you, untill you shall shew Me better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a Generall Councell cannot be had, several *Kingdoms* may *Reform* themselves (which is learnedly and fully proved be the late *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* in his disputation against *Fisher*) but, that the *inferiour Mrgistrates or People* (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no sufficient proof, to my judgment: Indeed, if you could have brought or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence submit; but as for your Examples, *cut of the Old Testament*, in My mind, they rather make for, than against Me, all those *Reformations* being made by *Kings*; and it is a good *probable* (though I will not say *convincing*) *Argument*, that if God would have approved of a *popular reforming way*, there were *Kings* of *Judah* and *Israell* sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary, the 16. Chapter of *Numbers* shews clearly, how God disapproves of such courses: But I forget this assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let Me tell you, that this pretended *power* in the *people* must (as all others) either be directly. or els declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soon you can do, I submit; otherwise you prove nothing: for the citing of private mens opinions) more than as they concur with the *Generall consent of the Church* in their time.) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that *Rebels never Wanted writers to maintaine their unjust actions*; and though I much reverence *Bishop Jewels* memory, I never thought him unfaillible; for *Bilson* I remember well what opinion the *King my Father* had of him for those

those Opinions, and how He shewed Him some favour in hope of his *Recantation*, (as His good nature made Him do many things of that Kinde) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say: To conclude this point, untill you shall prove this *position* by the Word of God, (as I will *Regall Authority*) I shall think all *popular Reformation*, little better than *Rebellions*; for, I hold that *no authority is lawfull but that which is either directly given, or at least, approved by God*. Secondly, Concerning the *English Reformation*, the first reason you bring why Queen *Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, because *she took not away Episcopacy, the hints of reason against which Government*, you say, I take no notice of; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, *a negative* (as I conceived) *could not be proved*, and that it was for Me to prove the *affirmative*; which I shall either do, or yeeld the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with *Books*, or such Men of My opinion, who, like you, have a *Library* in their brain: And so I must leave this particular untill I be furnished with means to put it to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had my will: indeed your second well proved, is most sufficient, which is, That *the English Church-Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our Archbishops and Bishops should have professed *Church-Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: and secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this *walking position*, (for some particulars must not conclude the generall) for which you must finde much better Arguments, than their being content with the *Constitution of the Church* and the *Authority and munificence of Princes*, or you will

will fall extreamly short: As for the *retaining* of the *Roman Leaven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little: But that the conforming of the *Church discipline* to the *civil policy*, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall doe well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church than he named, and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an *Archbishop* is onely a distinction for *order* of *Government*, not a *new Officer*, and so of the rest: and of this kinde I believe there are divers now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Assemblies*, and others.

4. Where you finde a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, in Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be alwayes so) it is in the *Apostles time*: now I think to prove the *Order of Bishops* succeeded that of the *Apostles*, and that the name was chiefly altered in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our *Saviour*, (albeit in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is wel that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more than *Eusebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it: For, your former paper affirms, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be so still for Me, if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, than those you mention: for because there were *divers Congregations* in *Ierusalem*; Ergo, *what?* are there not *divers Parishes* in one *Dio-cesse*? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the *Apostles met with those of the inferiour*
Order

Orders for Acts of Government; what then? even so in these times do the *Deans* and *Chapters*, and many times those of the *inferiour Clergy* assist the *Bishops*; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the *Apostles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being doth (in My judgement) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say no more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, &c. than you have for *Ierusalem*, it will gain no ground on Me: As for Saint *Ierome*, it is well known that he was no great friend to *Bishops*, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will finde that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equal to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Fallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of my Argument, for when you and I differ upon the *interpretation of Scripture*, and I appeal to the *practise of the Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, to be judge beween us, Me thinks you shald either finde a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shown how, waving those Judges I appeal unto, the mischief, of the interpretation by *private spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *Antiquity*, that *Ordination* and *Iurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby clerrly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former *foundations*; (as for Bishop *Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take it

to be a *begging of the Question*; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, I shall call *new-invented fancies*, until particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Reman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as well as the *Puritans*. As for *Church-ambition*, it doth not at all terminate in seeking to be *Pope*; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a *multitude* may be as dangerous as in *one*.

6. As I am no *Judge* over the *Reformed Churches*, so neither do I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon *necessity*, which otherwayes are *unlawfull*; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better, because it is done by such a *particular Church* (though it were by the *Church of England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that *Church* most, which comes nearest to the *purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline*, as I believe this doth. Now concerning Ordination, I bad you prove that Presbyters without a Bishop might lawfully Ordain, which yet I conceive you have not done; for, *2 Tim.* 1.6. it is evident, that Saint *Paul* was at *Timothies* Ordination; and albeit that all the *Seventy* had their power immediately from *Christ*, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear distinction between the *twelve Apostles* and the rest of the *Disciples*, which is set down by three of the *Evangelists*, whereof *S. Mark* calls it an Ordination, *Mark* 3. 15. and *S. Luke* says, *And of them he chose twelve, &c.* *Luke* 6. 13. onely *S. Matthew* doth but barely enumerate them by their name of distinction, *Matth.* 10. 1. I suppose out of modesty, himself being one, and the other two being none, are more particular. For the *administration of Baptisme*, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes

makes more for Me, than you : but I wil not engage upon new Questions, not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you have done as well to have omitted your instance: but; out of discretion I desire you to Collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my Oath be for the good of the *Church Collective*, therefore can I be dispenced withall by others then the *representative body*? certainly no more then the people can dispence with Me for them *Oaths* I took in their favour, without the two Houses of Parliament; and as for future Reformati^ons, I wil only tell you that *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum*.

8. For the *King* My Fathers opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe) needlessly, I could prove by living and written testimony, all and more, than I have said, for his perswasions in these points which I now maintaine; and for your *Defensive War*; as I do acknowledge it is a great sinne, for a King to oppresse the Church, so I hold it absolutely unlawful for *Subjects* (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make War (though *defensive*) against their *lawful Sovereign*; against which no lesse proofs will make Me yeeld but *Gods Word*; and let Me tell you, that upon such points as these, Instances, as well as comparisons, are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quere* in My first Paper to which this pretends to answer; for My Question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I never doubted the lawfulness of it) but *force of Arms*, to which, I conceive, it says little or nothing, unlesse (after My example) you referre me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the *asking of the Question*, after a fine discourse of the severall ways of *perswading* rather than *forcing* of Conscience: I close
up

up this paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that reason epitomized, will weigh as much with you, as if it were at large.

June 22. 1646.

C. R.

For His MAJESTY.

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and practice of the Church, *July 2. 1646.*

Mr. Alex. Henderfons third Paper.

HAVING in my former papers pressed the steps of your Majesties Propositions, and finding by your Majesties last Paper, controversies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond your Majesties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the *Reforming power*; The *Reformation of the Church of England*, The *difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter*; The *Warrants of presbyterian government*; The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*; The *taking and keeping of publick Oathes*; The *forcing of Conscience*; and many other inferiour & subordinate questions, which are branches of those Maine Controversies: All which in a satisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more presuming Spirits, who either see no knots of difficultiesor, can find a way rather to cut them asunder, than to unlose them: yet will I not use any Tergiversation; nor doe I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reasons thereof in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience

to your Majesties command, I have begun to doe already. Only Sir, by your Majesties favourable permission, for the greater expedition, and that the present velitations may be brought to some issue, I am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a principle, and that which should have been, *inter pracognita*; I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the present controversie of Church policy; without which we will be lead into a Labyrinth, and want a thred to wind us out again. In your Majesties first paper, the *universal custome of the Primitive Church*, is conceived to be the Rule. In the second paper, Section the 5. The *Practise of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers*, is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation of Scripture* is doubtfull; in your third paper, *Sect. 5. The practice of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers*, is made Iudge; and I know, that nothing is more ordinary in this Question, than to allege *Antiquity, perpetuall Succession, universal consent of the fathers, and the universall practice of the Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of *Augustine, Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec a concilio institutum, sed semper retentum est, non, nisi Auctoritate Apostolica, traditum rectissime creditur.* There is in this Argument at the first view, so much appearance of reason, that it may much work upon a modest mind: yet being well examined and rightly weighed it will be found to be of no great weight; for besides that the Minor wil never be made good in the behalf of a *Diocesan Bishop*, having sole power of Ordination and jurisdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintaine that *Bishop and Presbyter are of one and the same order*; I shall humbly offer some few Considerations about the Major, because it hath been an inlet to many

ny dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obstruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. First, I desire it may be considered, that whiles some make two rules for defining controversies, the Word of God and Antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equall veneration) or, as the Papists call them, *Canonicall Authority*, and *Catholicall tradition*; and others, make *Scripture* to be the only *Rule*, and *Antiquity* the authentick *Interpreter*, the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater error: because the first setteth up a parallel, in the same degree with *Scripture*; but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above *Scripture*: For the *Interpretation* of the Fathers shall be the *Doct* and accounted the very Cause and Reason for which we conceive and believe such a place of *Scripture* to have such a sence; and thus, Men shall have Dominion over our Faith, against 2. Cor. 1. 24. Our Faith shall stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God, 1 Cor. 2. 5. and *Scripture* shall be of private interpretation; For the prophesie came not of old by the wil of man, 2 Pet. 1. 20. 22. *Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitiuss esse debet*, saith *Tertullian*.

2. That the *Scripture* cannot be authentically interpreted but by *Scripture*, is manifest from *Scripture*: The Levites gave the sence of the Law by no other means, but by *Scripture* it self, *Neh.* 8. 1. Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true sence of *Scripture*, against the depravations of Satan, by comparing *Scripture* with *Scripture*, and not by alleaging any Testimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat.* 4. and the Apostles, in their Epistles, used no other help but the diligent comparing of Propheticall writings; like as the Apostle *Peter*, will have us to compare the clearer light of the

Apostles, with the more obscure light of the Prophets, 2 *Pet.* 1. 19. And when we betake our selves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it self. To this purpose amongst many other Testimonies, they bring the saying of *Tertullian*, *Surge veritas; ipsa Scripturas tuas interpreta, quam consuetudo non novit, nam si noscet, non esset*: if it knew Scripture, it would be ashamed of it selfe, and cease to be any more:

4. That some errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of *Free-will* beginning at *Iustin Martyr*, continued till the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Augustine*, as the *Divine right of Episcopacy*, was opposed by others. The Error about the *Vision of God*, That the *Souls of the saints departed, see not the face of God, Till the Judgement of the great day*, was held by Universall consent: The same may be said of the Error of the *Millenaries*; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present Question, the Ancients erred grossly about the *Antichrist* and *Mystery of iniquity*, which did begin to work in the dayes of the Apostles. Many other instances might be brought to prove the *universal practice of the Church*, as were not warranted by the Apostles, as by the Rites of *Baptisme* and *Prayer*; and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called *Symbolum Apostolicum*; the observation of many *Feasts* and *Fasts* both Anniversary and Weekly.

5. That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some would have it appear to be, for the primitive

mitive Church to have made a sudden defection from the Apostolicall purity: the people of Israel in the short time of *Moses* his absence on the Mount; turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exod* 32. soon after the death of *Iosuah*, and the Elders that had seen the great works which the Lord had done for *Israel*, there arose another generation after them, which did evil in the sight of the Lord, *Indg.* 2. & 7. soon after the building of the Temple, and setting of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worship of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had established the Kingdom he forsook the Law of the Lord, & all Israel with him, *2 Chron.* 12. 2. And the Apostle says to the Gallatians, *Gallat.* 1. 6. *I marvel that you are so soon removed unto another Gospel*: Why then shall we think it strange, that in the manner of Discipline, there should be a sudden defection, especially it being begun in the time of the Apostles? I know it is a common opinion, but I believe there be no strong reasons for it, that the Church which was nearest the times of the Apostles was the most pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the universall consent and practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are perished, (it may be that both of these have dissented from the rest) many of the writings which we have under their names are Suppositions, and counterfeit, especially about Episcopacy which was the foundation of Papall Primacy: The Rule of *Augustine* fore-mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like considerations may be added; but these may be sufficient to prove that the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of

the Primitive Church, is no sure ground of Authentick interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a Grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honoured by King *James* of happy memory, who often did professe that he did learne more of one page of *Iohn Calvin*, than of a whole Treatise of *Augustine*: Nor can there be any good reason, (many there be against it) why the Ancients should be so farre preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner deified, and the other vilified: it is but a poore Reason that some give, *Fama miratrix senioris aevi*, and is abundantly answered by the Apologist for Divine Providence. If your Majesty be still unsatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed to trouble your Majesty any more.

Newcastle, Iuly 2. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES fourth Paper.

Iuly 3. 1646.

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that My last Paper multiplies more controversies than My first gave occasion for, having been so farre from Augmenting the heads of our disputation, that I have omitted the answering many things, in both your Papers, expressely to avoid raising of new and needlesse questions; desiring to have only so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether or not, *I may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in england*; and indeed I like very well

well, to begin with the *settling of the Rule* by which we are to proceed, and determine the present Controversy; to which purpose (as I conceive) My third Paper shews you an excellent way; for there I offer you a ludge between us, or desire you to *find out a better*, which to My judgment you have not yet done; (though you have sought to invalidate Mine) For, if you understand to have offered the *Scripture*, though no man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it than My self; yet you must find some rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the *interpretation* of the self-same Text, or it can never determine our Questions; as for example, I say you misapply that of 2 *Cor.* 1. 14. to *Me*, (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make *other Men to have dominion over my Faith*, when I make them only serve to *approve My Reason*; nor do I conceive how, 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. can be applied to this purpose; For there St. *Paul* only shews the difference between *Divine* and *Humane Eloquence*, making no mention, of any kind of interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint *Peter* does, 2. *Pet.* 1. 20. which I conceive makes for *Me*; for, since that no *prophecie of Scripture is of any private interpretation*: First, I infer that Scripture is to be Interpreted; for els, the Apostle would have omitted the word *Private*: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so *a fortiore*, that of the *Catholick Church* ought to be an *authentick Judge*, when Men differ: And it is a good Argument? because (*Mat.* 4. 4. 7. 10.) Scripture is best interpreted by it selfe, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawfully? certainful you cannot think: Thus having shewed you that we differ, about the meaning of the Scripture, and are like to doe so; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other

things, a *Rule* or a *Judge* between us, to determine our differences, or, at least, to make our Probations and Arguments Relevant; therefore evading, for this time, to answer your six considerations (not I assure you for the difficulty of them, but the starting of new Questions) I desire you only to shew Me a better, than what I have offered to you.

Newcastle, July 3. 1646.

C. R.

For Mr. Alexander Henderion.

A particular Answer to Mr Alex. Hendersons, July 3.
16. 1646.

HIS MAJESTIES fifth Paper.

VNtill you shall find out a fitter way to decide our Difference in Opinion concerning Interpretation of Scripture than the consent of the Fathers, and the Universal practice of the Primitive Church, I cannot but passe you My judgment anent those six considerations, which you offered to invalidate those Authorities, that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention *two rules* for defining of controversies, and seek a most old way to confute them, as I think; For you alleage, that *there is more attributed to them*, than I believe you can prove, by the consent of most learned Men (there being no Question, but there are alwayes some flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*: besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellowes, should attribute more power to Presbyters, than is really due unto them, that thereby their just reverence and authority is diminished?

So

So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain that the *Interpretations of Fathers*, is a most excellent strengthening to My opinion though others should attribute the Cause and Reason of their Faith unto it.

2. As there is no Question, but that *Scripture* is the far *best Interpreter* of it selfe, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, Me and innumerable others, who yet unblamable have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If in this you only intend to prove that Errors were alwayes *breeding in the Church* I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the *universall practice of the Church* with Error, I must say it is a very bold undertaking; and (if you cannot justify your self, by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you must not allege, that to be universally received, which was not as I dare say, that the *Controversy about free will*, was never yet decided, by *Oecumoniall*, or *Generall Council*; nor must you presume to call that an Error, which really the Catholick Church maintained (as in rights of Baptisme forms of Prayer, observations Feasts, Fasts, &c.) except you can prove it so by the Word of God, and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the Apostles, but you must prove by their Doctrine, that such a thing was unlawfull, or else the practice of the Church is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Custome whatsoever it be, and think it good, and shall believe that the Apostles Creed was made by them, (such reverence I bear to the Church-Tradition) untill other Authors be certainly found out.

I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was a good argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any *custom of the Catholick Church* was erroneous, which was not contradicted by *Orthodox*, learned men, in the times of their first practice, as is easily perceived that those *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible* (though I confesse it *difficult*) to come to the knowledge of the *Universal consent*, and practice of the *Primitive Church*, therefore I confesse a man ought to be carefull how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be only an Argument for Caution.

My conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any *Authority* equall to the *Scriptures*; yet I do think the unanimous consent of the *Fathers* and the *universal practice of the Primitive Church to be the best and Authentick interpreters of Gods Word*, and consequently the fittest Judges between Me and you, when we differ, untill you shall find Me better: For example, I think you for the present the best Preacher in *Newcastle*, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better Preacher may come, but till then I must retain My Opinion.

Newcastle, July 16

1646.

C. R.

The



*The Papers which passed between his Majesty and the
Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parlia-
ment at the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of
Wight, Anno Dom. 1648. concerning
Episcopacy.*

*His MAJESTIES first Paper concerning
Episcopacy.*

Charles R.

I Conceive that Episcopall Government is most con-
sonant to the word of God, and of an Apostolicall
institution, as it appears by the Scrip-
ture, to have been practised by the Apo-
stles themselves, and by them commit-
ted, and derived, to particular persons
as their Substitutes or Successors therein
(as for ordaining Presbyters and
Deacons, giving rules concerning Chri-
stian Discipline, and exercising cen-
sures over Presbyters and others) and
hath ever since to these last times been
exercised by Bishops in all the Churches
of Christ, and therefore I cannot in conscience con-
sent to abolish the said Government; notwithstanding
this my perswasion I shall be glad to be informed, if
our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church
at liberty as they might totally alter or change the
Church-government at their pleasure: which if you can
make appear to Me, then I will confesse that one of
My great scruples is clean taken away: And then there
only remains;

That being by My Coronation Oath obliged to
maintaine Episcopall government, as I found it settled
to

to My hands : whether I may consent to the abolishing thereof untill the same be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the word of God.

Newport, 2 Octob. 1648.

*An humble Answer returned to your Majesties Paper ,
delivered to us, October 2. 1648.*

May it please your Majesty ,

WE do fully agree without hesitation , That these Scriptures cited in the Margent of your Paper , *Acts 14. 23. Acts 6. 6. 1 Cor. 16. 1. 1 Cor. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 3. 3 John 9. 10.* do prove, That the Apostles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons , give Rules concerning Christian Discipline , and had Power of censures over Presbyters and others ; and that these places of Scripture , *1 Tim. 5. 22. Titus 1. 5. 1 Tim. 5. 19. Titus 3. 10.* do prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exercise Censures over others ; and that the second and third Chapters of the *Revelations* do prove , that the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches . and exercising Censures : But that either the Apostles , or *Timothy* and *Titus* , or the Angels of the Churches were Bishops , as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters , exercising Episcopall Government in that sense , or that the Apostles did commit and derive to any particular persons as their substitutes and Successors , any such Episcopal Government , or that this is proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alleged , we do as fully deny : And therefore do humbly deny also , That Episcopall Government is therefore most consonant to the Word of God , and of Apostles institution , or proved so to be by these Scriptures. None of these were Bishops , or practised
Episcopall

Episcopall Government; as Bishops are distinct from Presbytery; neither is such an Officer of the Church as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Testament (by which we humbly conceive,) That our faith and conscience touching this point ought to be concluded: The Name, Office, and Work of Bishop and Presbyter being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguishd, and is clearly evident, *Titus 1.5.7. For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, & ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee, for a Bishop must be blamelesse.* In which place the Apostles reasoning were altogether invalid and inconsequent, if Presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office, as well as they have the same name.

The same is manifest, *Acts 20. 17, 28.* And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, and called the Presbyters of the Church, to whom he gave this charge *verse 28. Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, That the Apostle being to leave these Presbyters, and never to see their faces more, *verse 38.* doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being Bishops of the Holy Ghosts making: But that the Holy Ghost did make any superiour or higher kinde of Bishops than these common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other Text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witnesses this assertion of ours may stand; we adde to what we have already said, That in the first of *Peter 5. 1. 2. The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am, also a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you performing the Office of Bishops.* Where it appears plain to us, That under the words used in this place,
is

is exprest whatsoever work the Presbyters do, more for the government & good of the Church, otherwise than is there expressly enjoined unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been said, The point is rendred most clear to the judgment of most men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the new Testament, as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice of any qualification required in a Bishop, that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any Ordination in the Office of a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoined to doe; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apostles speake of, *2 Tim. 5. 17. As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of especially affixed to that Act or Work of labouring in the Word of Doctrine, which is not that act wherein Bishops have challenged a singularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyters.

To that which your Majesty doth conceive, That Episcopall Government was practised by Apostles themselves; We humbly answer, that the Apostles as they were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were Extraordinary in respect of their Commission and gifts, and office, and distinguished from all other Officers, *1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath set some in the Church, First Apostles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly Teachers*, Ephesians 4. 11. *Christ gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers*; Whereby the Apostles are distinguished from Pastors, and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word, and Government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exercise

ercise censures in all Churches we affirm, and with-
all, that no other persons or Officers of the Church
may challenge or assume to themselves such power in
that respect alone, because the Apostles practised it,
except such power belong unto them in common, as
well as to the Apostles, by warrant of the Scripture,
for that Government which they practised was Apo-
stolicall according to that peculiar Commission and
authority which they had, and no otherwise to be
called Episcopall, then, as their office was so com-
prehensive as they had power to doe the work of any
or all other Church Officers; In which respect they
call themselves *Presbyteri*, *Diaconi*, (but never *Epis-
copi* in distinct sense) and, therefore we humbly crave
leave to say, that to argue the Apostles to have
practised Episcopall Government, because they or-
dained other Officers, and exercised censures, is,
as if we should argue a Iustice of peace to be a Constable,
because he doth that which a Constable doth
in some particulars. Its manifest that the Office of
Bishops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apo-
stles, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and
as Presbyters in other acts; The distinction of Pres-
byters and Bishops being made by men in after
times.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, That
the Episcopall Government, was by the Apostles
committed and delivered to particular persons,
as their Substitutes or their Suceessors therein
(as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving
rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising
censures over Presbyters and others) seeming by the
alleged places of Scripture to instance in *Timothy*
and *Titus* and the Angels of the Churches, We humbly
answer,

1. And first to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant
That

That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot say they had this power, as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopall Government, not that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from Pastors and Teachers *Ephesians* 4. 11. And that they were Evangelists, it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expressly called an Evangelist 2. *Tim.* 4. 5. And neither of them being any where in Scriptures called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us, that neither their abode at *Ephesus* and *Creet* was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he imployes them ther upon occasional businesse, and expresseth Himselfe in such manner, (*I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrine, 1. Tim.* 13. *For this cause left I thee in Creet, Titus* 1. 5. as doth carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetual Governour: And it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. *Do thy diligence to come to me shortly, Titus* 3. 12. *Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis;* so that they may as well be called Bishops of other City, or Church where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as they are called by
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the postscripts of these Apostles, the credit of which postscripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches, the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphoricall and a Mystery, *Rev.* 1. 20. The Mystery of the seven Stars; Angels in respect of their mission or sending; Stars in respect of their station and shining. And it seems strange to us, that so many expresse testimonies of Scriptures, and allegoricall denominations or mysteries should be opposed; These Angels being nowhere called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Bishop used in any of *Iohns* writings, who calls himself Presbyter, nor any mention of superiority of one Presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephes* affecting it. And as to that which may be said that Epistles are directed to one; We answer, that a number of persons are in the mysterious and prophetick writings exprest in singulars. And wee humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary stile (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be, that is to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled: which that they were so intended, is clear to us, both because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops, and Presbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as *Rev.* 2. 24. *To you & to the rest in Thyatira*, by which distinction of you and the rest, we conceive the Church-governments (which were more than one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot consent that any singular person had majority over the rest, or sole power of exercising Church censures and Government spoken of in these Chapters.

That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot say they had this power, as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopall Government, not that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from Pastors and Teachers *Ephesians* 4. 11. And that they were Evangelists, it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expressly called an Evangelist 2. *Tim.* 4. 5. And neither of them being any where in Scriptures called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us, that neither their abode at *Ephesus* and *Crete* was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he imployes them ther upon occasional businesse, and expresseth Himselfe in such manner, (*I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrine, 1. Tim.* 13. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, Titus* 1. 5. as doth carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetual Governour: And it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, 2. *Tim.* 4. 9. *Do thy diligence to come to me shortly, Titus* 3. 12. *Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis; so that they may as well be called Bishops of other City, or Church where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of Ephesus and Crete, as they are called by*
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Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apostles themselves did not institute or practise Episcopall Government, nor commit and derive it to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein. We shall in further discharge of our duty to, and for, the more clear and full satisfaction of your Majesty in this point, briefly declare into what Officers hands, the ordinary and standing Offices of the Church were transmitted and derived by, and from the Apostles. The Apostles had no Successors in *eundem gradum*: The Apostolicall office was not derived by succession, being instituted by Christ, by extraordinary and speciall commission; but for the ordinary and standing use and service of the Church, there were ordained onely two Orders of Offices, viz. Bishops and Deacons, which the Apostle expresseth, *Phil. 1. 1. To all the Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons*: And onely of them doth the Apostle give the due characters of Officers: *1 Tim. 3. 2. 8.* From both which places of Scripture we conclude with antient Expositors both Greek and Latine, that Bishops are the same with Presbyters, & besides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both which orders there were in the Apostles times, in one City more than one, as in *Philippi* and *Ephesus*. And we humbly offer to your Majesty as observable; That though one Order might be superiour to another Order, yet in the same Order of Officers, there was not any one superiour to others of the same Order; No Apostle was above an Apostle, no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: And so we conclude this part, that since Church-Officers are instituted and set in the Church by God, or Jesus Christ: and that Ordination by or in which the office

is convey'd, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters & Deacons; therefore there are no other Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Churches of Christ.

As for the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles, we answer, 1. Our Faith reacheth no further than the holy Scriptures; no humane testimony can beget any more than a humane Faith.

2. We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned men, as well such as contend for Episcopacy as others, that the times immediately succeeding the Apostles, are very dark in respect of the Historie of the Church

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those times gives clear testimony to our assertion, *viz.* The Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians* who reciting the order of Church Officers, expressly limits them to two, Bishops and Deacons; and they whom in one place he call'd Bishops, he alwayes afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly spurious, and proved by *Videlinus* to be so mixed, that it is hard if not impossible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Besides *B. Vsher* in his last observations on them, c. 18. p. 238. confesseth that of the 12 of his Epistles, six are counterfeit, the other six mixt, and none of them in every respect accounted sincere and genuine.

4. We grant that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the writers of those times reported to be in the Church; but they were set up not as a divine Institution, but as an Ecclesiastiticall, (as afterwards both Arch-bishops and Patriarches were,) which is clear by Doctor *Reynolds* his Epistle to Sir *Francis Knowls*; wherein he shewes out of Bishop *Jewel*, that *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Ierome*, *Augustine*, and many more ho-

ly Fathers, together with the Apostle *Paul*, agree that by the word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: and that *Medina* in the Councell of *Trent* affirms not only the same Fathers, but also another *Ierome*, *Theodoret*, *Primasius*, *Secundus*, and *Theophilact* to be of the same judgment: and that with them agreed *Occumenius*, *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and another *Anselm*, *Gregory*, and *Gratian*; and after them many others; that it was enroll'd in the Canon Law for sound and Catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men, and adds, that all who have laboured in the reformation of the Church for these five hundred yeares, have taught that all Pastors, be they instituted Bishops or Priests, have equall Authority and power by Gods word. The same way goes *Lumbard* Master of the Sentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who speaking of Presbyters and Deacons, saith, the Primitive Churches had those Orders only, and that we have the Apostles precept for them alone; with him agree many of the most eminent of that kind, and generally all the Canonists; to these we may adde *Sixtus Senensis*, who testifies for himself and many others, and *Cassander* who was called by one of the *German* Emperours, as one of singular ability and integrity, to inform him and resolve his conscience in questions of that nature, who sayes it is agreed among all in the Apostles times, there was no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter.

For a conclusion we adde, that the doctrine which we have herein propounded to your Majesty concerning the indentity of the order of Bishops and Presbyters, is no other than the doctrine published by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. for all his Subjects to receive, seen and allowed by the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, with the nether House of Parliament:

of these two Orders onely (so saith his Book,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh expresse mention, and how they were conferr'd of by the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by all which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy, as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiastical institution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopall Government which at first obtained in the Church did really and substantially differ from Episcopal Government, which the Honourable Houses of Parliament desire the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one presiding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chusing out one among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, untill the Councill of *Sardus* decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a superiour order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy, as they distinguish according to the judgement and practise of these in our times we read not till the latter and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears that the present Hierarchy (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses) may be accordingly abolish-

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ed;) and yet possibly the Bishops of these
Primitive times might be , they are so far differ-
ring one from another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper, wherein you enquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty , as they might totally alter or change the Church Government at their pleasure, we humbly conceive that there are , substantials belonging to Church-Government, such are appointed by Christ and his Apostles , which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure : But as for Arch-Bishops , we hope it will appear unto your Majesties Conscience , that they are none of the Church governour appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles; we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the original of them than succession.

*His Majesties Answer to the Paper delivered to Him
by the Ministers attending the Parliaments Com-
missioners.*

Concerning Church-Government.

C. R.

His Majesty upon perusall of your Answer to His Paper of the second of *October* 1648. findeth that you acknowledge the severall Scriptures cited in the Margin , to prove the thing for which they are cited , viz. that the Apostles in their own persons , that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them , and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-Government , and did nor might actually exercise the same in all the three severall branches in His Paper specified ; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power

to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, than what properly falleth under one of these three: Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised episcopall Government in that sense as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters: wherein you do in effect deny the very same thing you had before granted: For Episcopall Government in that sense being nothing else but the government of the Churches within a certaine precinct (commonly called a Diocese) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and the people of those Churches for that end, since the substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unlesse you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzzling and subverting of those that seek after truth) you must also acknowledge that Episcopall government in the sence aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon three severall texts, *Titus* 1. 5. 7. *Acts* 20. 17. 18. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. 2. his Majesty conceives (as to the present businesse) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, that the word Bishop is there used to signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the Office and work mentioned in those places as the office and work of a Bishop, are the Office and work of a Presbyter; which is confest on all sides, although his Majesty is not sure that the proof will reach so farre in each of those places. But from thence to infer an absolute Identity of the functions of a Bishop and a presbyter is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a man-

ner quite along your whole answer : but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted, that single persons, (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and Offices of Church-government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by anything represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove that there may be community of names in some places, notwithstanding the Functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus* or Bishop, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilfull in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more than an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of some thing committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to ke p Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical use, it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*; as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the oversight of the flock in the Duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* within their severall precincts, in the acts of externall government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministry of the Gospel, but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinguished from Presbyters, is Church-government. It is not therefore to be wondred if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applyed unto Presbyters who were indeed overseers of the flock, rather than unto
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Church-governours, who had then a title of greater Eminency whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Successours, the names were by common usage (which is the best master of words) very soon appropriated, that of *Episcopus* to the Ecclesiasticall Governour or Bishop of a Diocesse, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Minister or Priest.

His Majesty hath rather cause to wonder, That upon such premises you should conclude with so much confidence, as if the point were rendred most clear to the judgment of most men both antient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majesty remembreth to have seen cited, by such Authors as he hath no reason to suspect, both out of the antient Fathers and Councils. and out of sundry modern Writers, even of these reformed Churches, that want Bishops, great variety of Testimonies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your Answer, concerning the Apostles exercise of Episcopall government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary calling: our Saviour himself was the first and chief Apostle, and Bishop of our Souls, sent by the Father, and anointed by the holy Ghost, to be both the Teacher and the Governour of his Church. By that Mission he received authority, and by Vnction abilities for these works which he performed in his own person, whilest he lived upon the earth: Before he left the World, that the Church might not want Teaching and Governing to the Worlds end, he chose certain persons upon whom he conferr'd both these powers, whereby they became
also

also Apostles and Bishops, by making them partakers both of his Mission before his Assention (*As My Father sent Me so send I you*) and of his unction shortly after his assention, when he powred upon them the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. The Mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the substance of it) was ordained and to continue to the end of the world (*Mat. 28. 18. 20.* and therefore necessarily to descend and be by them transmitted to others, as their Substitutes or successours. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the Holy Ghost in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Propheysings, Healing, Infalibility of Doctrine, discerning of Spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needfull for the planting of the Churches, and the propogation of the Gospell in those Primitive times; and in this which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have successiours. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling which being of necessary and continuall use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the worke of a Function of ordinary and perpetuall use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church, were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, than the acts of Teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately suc-

succeeding them in the Office of teaching; and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists, whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no where implies any such thing at all, and by your owne Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist, is such as you have described it; the work of an Evangelist, which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do seems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4. 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all Impediments and Opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not only denied, but clearly refuted by *Scallegus*, *Cerrard*, and others; yea even with scorne rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyterians, as *Gillespie*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you so confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the consentient testimony of all Antiquity (even *Ierome* himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops and that of St. *Pauls* Ordination) & acknowledged by very many late Divines :

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Divines; but a Catalogue also of 27. Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofs, That they were from *Ephesus* and *Creet* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the severall journeys and stations of Saint *Paul* and *Timothy* have demonstrated the contrary concerning that particular.

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 *Tim.* 4. 5. and *Ti.* 3. 12. That they were called away from these places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, than it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their several parishes.

Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the antient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the seven Churches were *personae singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches, and

and that is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to infirm this: you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in Epistolary stile, and so (as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be) directed to one but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakning, that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to his two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending it to the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet his Majesty cannot but observe in this (as in some parts of your answer) how willing you are *versari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly and directly what your opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antichrist of Episcopacy; *Salmatus* very peremptorily (*sic ergo hoc fixum, &c.*) affirmeth, the whole Churches; or so many individual Pastors of the greater Church in these Cities, or the whole College of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colleges. For into so many severall opinions are these few divided among themselves, who have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the Christian Church.

In the following Discourse you deny that the Apostles were to have any successors in their Office, and affirm that they were to be onely two Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, *viz. Presbyters and Deacons.*

What his Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Successors in *eundem gradum*, in respect

pect of these things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a speciall character of an Apostle properly so called) they having seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things that were not extraordinary (and such those things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the office of teaching and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Successors, and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councils of old times did usually stile Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although in the place by you cited, *Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 8.* there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders only of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church beside, for there appears to other Manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and reserved in their own hands the power of governing of these Churches; for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospell, before they set Bishops over them; and so it may be probable that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi*, when Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them. The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom they wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the
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choice or qualification of any other sort of Officers, then such as belonged to their ordination or inspection which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

First his Majesty beleeveth, that although faith as it is an assent unto truth supernaturall, or of divine Revelation, reacheth no farther than the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact humane testimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certaine and infallible, as by credit of Histories we have an infallible faith that *Aristotle* was a Greek Philosopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The Darknesse of these times in respect of the History of the Church is a very strong Argument for Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darknesse of the times there is found to be so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of sundry famous Cities, as *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, &c. in a continued succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In *Clements* testimony cited by you, his Majesty conceiveth you make use of your old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the indistinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epistle, or considereth that he himselfe was a Bishop in that sence, even by the confession of *Videli* himself, a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who saith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens solus Episcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi*
 &

& *Presbyteri*; and for *Ignatius* his Epistles, though some of late out of their partial disaffection to Bishops, have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume of them by all possible means, without any regard either of ingenuity or Truth, yet sundry of them are such, as being attested by the suffrages of antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denyed to be his, and there is scarce any of them which doth not give testimony to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: *Ignatius* himself as a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of Christ.

4. You grant that not long after the Apostles times Bishops are found in the writers of those times, reported, as in some superiority to Presbyters: but you might have added further out of these writers (if you had pleased) that they were some of them, as *James* at *Ierusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Creet*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordained Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office: and his Majesty presumeth you could not be ignorant, that all or most of the testimonies you recite of the antient Fathers, Writers of middle ages, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and the Book published under King *Henry* the eighth, do but either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, where of advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a Schoole point (which in respect of the thing it self, is but a very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious questionists, *Verum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*, both sides in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters; as also that there may be produced ei-
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ther from the very same Writers, or from others of as good Authority or credit, testimonies both for number and clearnesse farre beyond those by you mentioned to assert the three different degrees or orders (call them whether you will) of Ecclesiasticall Functions, (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you adde lastly, concerning the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth conceive, that the accessions, or additions granted by the favour of his Royall progenitors, for the enlarging of the power or privileges of Bishops, have not made, or indeed can make the Government really and substantially to differ from what formerly it was, no more than the Addition of Arms or Ornaments can make a body really and substantially to differ from it selfe naked, or destituted of the same; nor can think it either necessary or yet expedient, that the Elections of the Bishops, and some other circumstantialls touching their persons or Office should be in all respects the same under Christian Princes, as it was when Christians lived among Pagans, and under persecution; yet his Majesty so far approveth of your Answer in that behalfe, that he thinketh it well worthy the studies and endeavours of Divines of both Opinions, laying aside emulation and private interests, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well-proportioned forme of superiority and subordination, as may best resemble the Apostolicall and primitive times, so far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigents of all considerable circumstances will admit, so as the power of Church Government in the particular Ordination which is meerly spirituall, may remaine *Authoritative* in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised

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sed without the concurrence or assistance of his Presbytery, as *Timothy* was ordained by the Authority of *St. Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the concurrence or assistance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of Government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops as before is exprest) yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed, or limited by the Sovereign power, to which by the Lawes of the place, and the acknowledgment of the Clergy they are subordinate; but his Majesty doubteth whether it be in your power to give him any perfect assurance, that in the desired abolition of the present Hierarchy, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and consequently of Presbytery is neither included nor intended.

As to the last part of his Majesties paper, his Majesty would have been better satisfied if you had been more Particular in your Answer therunto; you tell him in generall, that there are substantialls in Church Government appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither say what these substantialls are, nor in whose hands they are left; whereas his Majesty expected that you would have declared your opinions clearly, whether Christ or his Apostles left any certaine form of Government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same binds all Churches to the particular observation thereof; or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certaine form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed as perpetuall and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopall, or the Presbyterian Government, or some other differing from them both.

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty, to look rather to the originall of Bishops, than to
their

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their succession, his Majesty thinks it needfull to look
at both, especially since their Succession is the best
clue, the most certaine and ready way to find out their
originall.

His Majesty having returned you this answer, doth
professe, that whatever is of weight in yours, shall
have influence in him, so he doubts not but some-
what may appeare to you in His which was not so clear
to you before; and if this debate may have this end,
that it dispose others to the temper of accepting rea-
son, as it shall him in endeavouring to give satisfaction
in all he can to the two Houses, his Majesty believes
though it hath taken up, it hath not mis-spent His
time.

Newport, Octob. 6.

*The Answer of the Ministers attending the Commis-
sioners of Parliament, to the second Paper delivered to
them by his Majesty, October 6. 1648.
Delivered to his Majesty October 17.*

May it please your Majesty,

AS to our Paper of *October* the third, in answer to
your Majesties of *October* the second, we did,
so now againe we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures
cited in the Margin of your Majesties Paper do prove,
that the Apostles in their own persons, That *Timothy*
and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had pow-
er respectively to do those things, which are in those
places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now al-
so we humbly do deny, that any of the persons or
Officers fore-mentioned were Bishops, as distinct
from Presbyters, or did exercise Episcopall Govern-
ment in that sence: Or that this was in the least mea-
sure proved by the alleged Scriptures, and there-

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fore our *Negative* not being to the same point, or
state of the Question which was *affirmed*, we hum-
bly conceive that we should not be interpreted, to
have in effect denied the very same thing, which
we had before granted; or to have acknowledged that
the severall Scriptures do prove the thing for which
they are cited by your Majesty: And if that which
we granted were all, that, by the Scriptures cited in
your Margin, your Majesty intended to prove; it will
follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on your
Majesties part, to make up that Conclusion which is
pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to that asserti-
on, so we now crave leave to represent to your Ma-
jesty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence gi-
ven in maintenance thereof. The Reason given by
your Majesty in this paper to support your assertion,
That the persons that exercised the power aforesaid
were Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a descrip-
tion of Episcopall Government; 'Which is (as
'your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the Govern-
'ment of the Churches within a certain precinct (com-
'monly called a Diocesse) committed to one single
'person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters,
'and people of those Churches for that end; which
'Government so prescribed, being for substance of
'the thing it selfe in all the three forementioned par-
'ticulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and
'Censures) found in Scriptures, except we will con-
'tend about names and words, must be acknowledged
'in the sense aforesaid to be sufficiently proved from
'Scriptures: and your Majesty saith further, that the
'Bishops do challenge more or other power to be-
'long to them, in respect of their Episcopall office, as
'it is distinct from that of presbyters, than what pro-
'perly falls under one of those three.

We

Wee desire to speake both to the Bishops of *Challenge*, and to your Majesties Description of *Episcopall Government*. And first to their Challenge; because it is first exprest in your MAJESTIES Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Respects : First, In respect of the *power* challenged : Secondly, In respect of that ground, or *tenure* upon which the claim is laid. The power Challenged consists of three particulars ; *Ordaining*, *giving Rules of Discipline*, and *Censures*. No more, no other, in respect of their Episcopall Office. We see not, by what warrant this Writ of partition is taken forth, by which the Apostolicall office is thus shared or divided; the *Governing* part into the Bishops hands; the *teaching* and *administring* Sacraments, into the Presbyters. For besides that the Scripture makes no such inclosure, or partition wall, it appears the challenge is growne to more than was pretended unto in the times of grown Episcopacy. *Ierome* and *Crysostome* do both acknowledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter differed only in the matter of Ordination : and learned Doctor *Billson* makes some abatement in the claim of *three*, saying, the things proper to Bishops, which might not be common to Presbyters, are singularly of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordaining.

The *tenure* or ground upon which the claim is made is Apostolicall, which with us is all one with *Divine Institution*. And this, as far as we have learned, hath not been *anciently*, *openly*, or *generally* avowed in this Church of *England*, either in time of Popery, or of the first Reformation ; and whensoever the pretension hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned, and godly men. The abettors of the Challenge, that they might resolve it at last into

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the Scripture, did chuse the most plausible way of
ascending by the way of *Succession*; going up the
River to find the Head: but when they came to
Scriptures, and found it like the head of *Nile* (which
cannot be found) they shrowded it under the name
and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and of
Timothy and *Titus*. Those that would carry it higher,
endeavoured to imp it into the *Apostolical office*, and
so at last called it a *Divine institution*, not in force of
any *express precept*, but *implicite practise* of the Apo-
stles: and so the *Apostolicall Office* (excepting the gifts,
or enablements confest only extraordinary) is brought
down to the *Episcopall*, and the *Episcopall* raised up to
be *Apostolicall*. Whereupon it follows, that the highest
Officers in the Church are put into a lower orb; an
extraordinary office turned into an *ordinary distinct* of-
fice, confounded with that which in the Scripture is
not found; a *temporary* and an *extinct* office revived. And
indeed, if the definitions of both be rightly made,
they are so *Incompatible* to the same subject, that he
that will take both must lose the one: *aut Apostolus*
Episcopatum, *aut Apostolatum Episcopus*. For the Apo-
stles, though they did not in many things *ut aliud*, yet
they acted *ais: nomine & alio munere* than Presbyters
or Bishops can do; and if they were indeed Bishops,
and their Government properly *Episcopall* in distinct
sense, then it is not needful to goe so far about to prove
Episcopall Government of divine institution, because
they practised it: but to assert expressly that Christ
instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties *definition* of *Episcopall* govern-
ment, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later date
than Scripture times, and doth not suite with that *Me-*
ridian, under which there were more Bishops than
one in a precinct, or Church; and it is as fully com-
petent to *Achiepiscopall*, and *Patriarchall* govern-
ment,

ment, as Episcopall. The parts of this definition. *materiall* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in Scripture. The Apostles *Timothy* and *Titus*, were single persons, but not limited to a Precinct: the Government of the Angells were limited to a Precinct, but not in single persons. In severall offices not to be confounded, the parts of this definition may be found; but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordinary Officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordinary and standing Government*, had been made the *genus* in your Majesties definition (as it ought to be) we should crave leave to say it would be *gratis distinctio*, if not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth not put all these parts together in a Bishop, who never borrowed of *Apostles*, *Evangelists* and *Angels* the matter of Governing and ordaining, and left the other of teaching, dispensing Sacraments, and dealing only *in foro interno*, to Presbyters, untill after times. By this that hath been said, it is manifest enough, that we contend not first *de nomine*, about the name of Episcopall Government: which yet (though names serve for distinction) is not called or distinguished by that name in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about the work, whether the work of Governing, Ordering, preaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which we clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*, about the Office, it being a great fallacy to argue, That the Apostles did the same worke which Bishops or Presbyters are to do in Ordinary; Therefore they were of the same Office: for as it is said of the liberall and learned Arts, one and the same thing may be handled in divers of them, and yet these Arts are distinguished from the *formalis ratio* of handling of them; so we say of Officers, they are distinguished by their Callings and Commissions, though not by the work, as all those that are named, (*Ephes. 4. 11.*) *Apostles*

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Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, are de-
signed to one and the same generall and common
work: *The work of the Ministry*, vers 12. And yet they
are not therefore all one, for its said, *some* Apostles,
some Prophets, *some* Evangelists, and *some* Pastors and
Teachers. A Dictator in Rome and an ordinary Tri-
bune; Moses and the subordinate Governours of Is-
rael; The Court of Parliament and of the Kings Bench,
an Apostle and a Presbyter or Deacon may agree in
some common work, and yet no confusion of Offices
followes thereupon.

To that which your Majesty conceives, that the
most that can be proved from all, or any of those pla-
ces, by us alleged (to prove that the Name, Of-
fice, and Work of Bishops and Presbyters is one and
the same in all things, and not in the least distin-
guisht) is, that the word Bishop is used in them to
signifie a Prebyter, and that consequently the Of-
fice, and Work, mentioned in these places as the
Office and Work of a Bishop, are the Office
of a Presbyter, which is confessed on all sides; Wee
make this humble return, That though there be no
supposition so much as implied, that the Office of a
Bishop and a Presbyter, are distinct in any thing (for
the names are mutually reciprocall) yet we take your
Majesties concession, that in these times of the
Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct
Office of Bishops and Presbyters; and consequently
that the identity of the Office must stand, untill there
can be found a clear distinction or division in the
Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of Fun-
ctions from the community of names, and some part of
the work, the Argument might have been justly ter-
med a fallacy, but we proved them the same Office from
the same worke, *per omnia*, being allowed so to doe by
the fullness of those two words used in the *Acts* and

S. Peter

S. Peter his Epistle *πολειν* and *ιμμενη* under the force of which words the Bishops claim their whole power of Government and Jurisdiction, and we found no little weight added to our Argument from that in the *Acts*, where the Apostle departing from the *Ephe-sian Presbyters or Bishops*, as never to see their faces more commits (as by a finall charge) the Government of that Church, both over particular Presbyters and People, not to *Timothy* who then stood at his elbow, but to the Presbyters under the name of Bishops, made by the holy Ghost, whom we read to have set many Bishops over our Church, not one over either one or many, and the Apostles arguing from the same qualification of a Presbyter and of a Bishop in order to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves them to be two names of the same Order or Function, the *diverse Orders* of Presbyter and Deacon, being diversly characterised, upon these grounds (wee hope without fallacy) we conceive it justly proved, that a Bishop and a Presbyter are wholly the same. That *Timothy* and *Titus* were single persons, having authority of Government, we acknowledge; but deny, that from thence any Argument can be made unto either single Bishop or Presbyter: for though a single Presbyter by the power of his Order (as they call it) may preach the Word and dispense the Sacraments; yet by that example of the Presbytery, their *Laying on of hands*, and that Rule of *Telling the Church* in matter of scandall, it seems manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter; neither hath your Majesty hitherto proved either the names of Bishops and Presbyters, or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at all distinguished; You having wholly waved the notice or answer of that we did insert (and do yet desire some demonstration of the contrary) viz. That the

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the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any
qualification, any *ordination*, any *work* or *duty*, any
honour peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from
a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them
unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put this Que-
stion near to an issue. That GOD should intend a di-
stinct and highest kind of Officer for Government in
the Church, and yet not expresse any qualification,
worke, or way of constituting and ordaining of him,
seems unto us improbable. Concerning the significa-
tion of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overleer, or
one that hath a charge committed to him: For in-
stance, of watching a Beacon, or *keeping Sheep*; and
the application of the name to such persons as have in-
spection of the Churches of Christ committed to them
in spiritualibus: We also give our suffrage, but not
to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, and *Episcopus*
pastorum & gregis, both because it is the point in
Question; and because also your M A J E S T Y
having signified that *Episcopus* imports a *keeper of*
sheep, yet you have not said that it signifies also a
keeper of shepherds. As to that which is affirmed by
‘your Majesty, that the peculiar of the function of
‘Bishops is Church Government; and that the reason
‘why the said *Episcopus* is so usually applyed to
‘Presbytery, was, because Church Governours had
‘then another Title of greater eminency, to wit, that
‘of *Apostles*, untill the Government of the Churches
‘came into the hands of their Successours; and then
‘the names were by common uilage very soon appro-
‘priated; That of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiasticall Go-
‘vernours; That of *Presbyters* to the ordinary
‘Ministers. This assertion your Majesty is pleased
‘to make without any demonstration; for the Scrip-
‘ture calls Presbyters Rulers, and Pastors and
Teachers it calls Governours; and commits to
them

them the charge of feeding and inspection as wee have proved, and that without any mention of Church Government peculiar to Bishops; we deny not, but some of the Fathers have conceived the notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the names of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* became appropriate, which is either an allusion or concept, without evidence of Scripture; For, while the Function was one, the names were not divided; When the Function was divided, the name was divided also, and indeed inappropriate; but we that look for the same warrant, for the division of an Office, as for the Constitution, cannot finde that this appropriation of names was made till afterwards, or in prolesse of time, as *Theodore* (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirms, whose saying, when it is run out of the pale of Scripture time, wee can no further follow; from which premises laid altogether, wee did conclude the cleernesse of our assertion, That in the *Scriptures of the New Testament*, a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter in *Qualification, Ordination, Office or Dignity* is not found, the contrary whereof though your Majesty saith, that you have seen confirmed by great variety of credible Testimony, yet we believe those testimonies are rather strong in asserting, than in demonstrating the Scriptures Original of a Bishop, which is declared against by a cloud of witnesses, named in the later end of our former Answer, unto which we should refer if matter of right were not proper tryable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by Testimony.

We said that the Apostles were the highest Order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were distinguished from all other Officers, and that their Government was not *Episcopall*, but *Apostolicall*; to which Answer, your Majesty being

not satisfied, doth oppose certain assertions, That
 'Christ himself and the Apostles received their au-
 'thority by Mission, their ability by Unction; That
 'the Mission of the Apostles was ordinary, and to
 'continue to the end of the World; but the Uncti-
 'on, whereby they were enabled to both Offices and
 'Functions, Teaching and Governing, was indeed
 'extraordinary; That in their Unction they were
 'not necessarily to have Successors, but necessarily
 'in their Mission or Office of Teaching and Gover-
 'ning; That in these two ordinary Offices their or-
 'dinary successours are Presbyters and Bishops; That
 'Presbyters *qua* Presbyters doe immediately succeed
 'them in the Office of Teaching, and Bishops
 ' *qua* Bishops; immediately in the Office of Govern-
 'ing: The demonstration of which last alone, would
 have carried in it more conviction than all these
 assertions put together; Officers are distinguished
 by that whereby they are constituted, their Com-
 mission, which being produced, signed by one place
 of Scripture, gives surer evidence, than a Pedigree
 drawn forth by such a *series of distinctions as do not di-*
stinguish him into another Office from a Presbyter;
 whether this chain of distinction be strong, and
 the links of it sufficiently tackt together, wee crave
 leave to examine, *Christ*, saith your Majesty, was the
Apostle and Bishop of our souls, and hee made the
 Apostles both Apostles and Bishops; wee doe not
 conceive that your Majesty means that the Apostles
 succeeded Christ as the chiefe Apostle, and that as
 Bishops they succeeded Christ as a Bishop, lest thereby
Christ his Mission as an Apostle and Bishop might be
 conceived as ordinary as their *Mission* is said to be:
 But we apprehend your Majesty to mean, that the
 Office of Apostle and Bishop, was eminently con-
 tained in Christs Office, as the Office of a Bishop was
 eminently

eminently contained in that of Apostleship; but thence it will not follow that *inferiour* offices being contained in the *superiour* eminently, are therefore existent in it formally; For because all *honours and dignities* are eminently contained in your Majesty, would it therefore follow that your Majesty is formally and distinctly a Baron of the Realm, as it is asserted the Apostles to have been Bishops in distinct sense; That *Mission* refers to Office and Authority, and *Vnction* onely to Ability, wee cannot consent: for besides that the breathing of Christ upon his Disciples saying, *Receive ye the holy Ghost*, doth refer to *mission* as well as *unction*; we conceive that in the proper *anointing of Kings*, or other Officers, the naturall use and effect of the oyl upon the body, was not so much intended, as the solemn and ceremonious use of it in the inauguration of them; so there is relation to Office in unction, as well as to conferring of abilities; else how are Kings, or Priests, or Prophets, said to be anointed? And what good sense could be made of that expression in Scripture, of anointing one in anothers room: to omit, that Christ by this construction should be called the *Messias* in respect of abilities onely. And although we should grant your Majesties explication of *Mission* and *Vnction*, yet it will not follow that the *Mission* of the Apostles was ordinary, and their *unction* onely extraordinary: That into which there is succession, was ordinary; That into which there is no succession, (for succession is not unto abilities or gifts) extraordinary; and so the Apostles were ordinary Officers in all whereunto there is properly any succession, and that is *Office*. They differed from Bishops in that wherein one Apostle or Officer of the same order might differ from another, to wit, in abilities and measure of Spirit, but not in that wherein one order of Officers is above another by their

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their office; to which we cannot give consent; for
since no man is denominated an Officer from his meer
abilities and gifts, so neither can the Apostles be cal-
led extraordinary Officers, because of extraordinary
gifts, but that the Apostles mission and Office (as well
as their abilities) was extraordinary and temporary
doth appear in that it was by immediate Commission
from Christ, without any intervention of men, either
in Election or Ordination for planting an authorita-
tive governing of all Churches through the World,
comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church
whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unrea-
sonable, that the office and authority of the Apostles
should be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to
make, as it were, a fit *stock*, into which the ordinary
office of a Bishop might be *ingrafted*, nor doth the con-
tinuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ him-
self, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reason
given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing,
was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the conti-
nuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to say)
is that great mistake which runs through the whole
file of your Majesties discourse, for though there be a
succession in the *work* of Teaching and Governing,
yet there is no succession in the *Commission or Office*
by which the Apostles performed them, for the Office
of *Christ*, of *Apostles*, of *Evangelists*, of *Prophets*, is
thence also concluded Ordinary, as to *Teaching and*
Governing, and the distinction of Offices Extraordina-
ry and Ordinary *entirely* destroyed; the Succession
may be into the same *work*; not into the same *Com-*
mission and Office, the ordinary Officers, which are to
manage the work of Teaching and governing, are con-
stituted, settled and limited by warrant of Scrip-
ture, as by another Commission than that which
the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shown

us some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of Teaching and Governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise wee must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolicall Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilson* acknowledgeth to bee the main erection of Episcopall power, if the proofs of their being Bishops, doe stand, or subversion, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction though all that is said therein could bee proved.

First, because the Scripture no where implieth any such things at all, that *Titus* was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text clearly prove, that *Timothy* was so.

1. The name of *Bishop*, the Scripture neither expresseth, nor by implication gives it to either, the work which they are enjoined to doe is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and cannot of it selfe make a character of one distinct and proper office: But that there was such an order of Officers in the Church as Evangelists reckoned amongst the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow Labourers with the Apostles, sent abroad to severall Churches as occasion did require, it (is as we humbly conceive.)
clear

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clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the learned defenders of Episcopall Government, nor (as we remember) by *Sculletus* himself during the time of their travails.

‘ 2. To that which your Majesty secondly saith,
‘ That we cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture that the Office of Evangelists is such as wee have described, his worke seeming, 2. *Timothy* 2. 4.
‘ 5. to be nothing else but diligence in preaching the Word . notwithstanding all impediments and oppositions, We humbly Answer, that exact Definitions of these or other Church Officers are hard to be found in any Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place of Scripture with another, it may be proved as well what they were, as what the Apostles and Presbyters were, the description by us given being a Character made up by collation of Scriptures, from which Master *Hooker*, *Eccles. Polit. lib. 5.* doth not much vary, saying, that *Evangelists were Presbyters of principall sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as Agents in Ecclesiasticall affairs, wheresoever they saw need.* And that *Pastors and Teachers* were settled in some certaine Charge, & thereby differed from to *Evangelists*, whose work that it should be nothing but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and so not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apostles Office was divided into Episcopall and Apostolicall, so this also is to be divided into Episcopall and Evangelisticall, Ordination and Censures belonging to *Timothy* as a bishop, and diligence in preaching only being left to the *Evangelists*, which division (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture.

‘ Thirdly, your Majesty saith, that that which we

‘so confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their acting as Evangelists, is by some *denied* and *refuted*, yea even with scorn *rejected* by some rigid Presbyterians; and that which we so confidently deny, that they were Bishops, is *confirmed* by the consentient testimony of all antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himself; that they were Bishops of *S. Pauls* ordination, acknowledged by very many late Divines, and that a catalogue of twenty seven *Bishops of Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good record, is vouched by *D. Reynolds* and other Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majesty is pleased to call it) was in our Answer exprest in these words, *We cannot say* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops in the sense of your Majesty; but *extraordinary Officers or Evangelists*, in which opinion we were then clear; not out of a totall ignorance of those Testimonies which might be alledged against it, but from intrinsick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majesty hath not produced any one to the contrary; nor is our confidence weakned by such replies as these; the Scripture never calls them Bishops, but the Fathers do; the Scripture calls *Timothy* an Evangelist; some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn; the Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church; but some relate them to be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Crete*: the Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were both: we cannot give your Majesty a present account of *Sculietus* and *Ierhards* Arguments, but do believe that *M. Gillespi* and *Rutherford* are able with greater strength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* and *Titus* their being Bishops, then they do (if they do) with scorn reject this of their being Evangelists: As for *testimonies* and *catalogues*, though we undervalue them not, yet your Majesty will be pleased

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sed to allow us the use of our Reason, so far as not to
expect an Office in the Church, which is not found in
Scripture, upon *generall appellations* or *titles* and *allu-*
sions frequently found in the Fathers, especially when
they speak *vulgarly*, and not as to a point in debate,
for even *Jerome*, who as your Majesty saith doth Re-
cord, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made Bishops, and
and that of *S. Pauls* Ordination, doth when he speaks
to the point between your Majesty and us, give the
Bishops to understand that they are superiour to Pres-
byters *consuetudine magis quam Dominica veritatis*
dispositione; for *catalogues*, their credit rests upon the
first witnesses from whom they are reported by *tradi-*
tion from hand to hand, whose writings are many times
supposititious, *dubious*, or not *extant*; besides that these
catalogues do resolve themselves into some *Apostle* or
Evangelist as the first *Bishop*, as the *catalogue* of *Jeru-*
salem into the *Apostle James*, that of *Antioch* into *Pe-*
ter; that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that of *Alexan-*
dria into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into *Timothy*, which
Apostles and *Evangelists* can neither themselves be
degraded by being made Bishops, nor be succeeded in
their proper calling or Office; and it is easie for us to
proceed the same way, and to find many ancient rites
and customs generally received in the Church (count-
ed by the ancients *Apostolicall traditions*) as neer
the *Apostle* times as Bishops, which yet, are confes-
sedly, not of *Divine institution*: and further, if *Timothy*
and the rest that are first in the *catalogue* were Bi-
shops with such sole power of Ordination and Cen-
sures, as is asserted, how came their pretended Suc-
cessors, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the
Fathers themselves call them) to lose so much Epis-
copall power as was in their Predecessours, and as
was not recovered in 300. hundred years; and there-
fore we cannot upon any thing yet said, recede from
that

that of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the beginning it was not so.

‘Your Majesty saith, that we affirm but upon very weak proofes, that they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places, the contrary whereunto hath been demonstrated by some, who have exactly out of Scripture, compared the times, and order of the severall journeys, and stations of *Paul* and *Timothy*.

It is confessed that our assertion, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, lies with some stress upon this, that they removed from place to place, as they were sent by or accompanied the Apostles, the proof whereof appears to us, to be of greater strength then can be taken off by the comparison which your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the Assembly at Westminster*. We begin with the *Travails of Timothy*, as we find them in order recorded in the Scripture-places cited in the Margin; and we see forth from *Berea*, *Acts* 17. 14. where we find *Timothy*; then next at *Athens*, v. 15. from whence *Paul* sends him to *Thessalonica*, 1 *Thes.* 3. 1, 2. afterward having been in *Macedonia*; he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*, *Acts* 18. 5. and after that, he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19. 22. whither *S. Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into *Asia*, *Acts* 20. 4. who was with him at *Troas*, verse 5. 6. who was with him at *Miletus*, verse 17. to which place Saint *Paul* sent for the Presbyters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto themselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommendation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, he must be so when the first Epistle was sent to him, in

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 which he is pretended to receive the charge of
 exercising his Episcopall power in Ordination and
 Government; but it is manifest that after this Epi-
 stle sent to him, he was in continuall journeys, or
 absent from *Ephesus*. For *Paul* left him at *Ephesus*
 when he went from *Macedonia*, *1 Tim.* 1. 3. and he left
 him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and
 ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was
 after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul* at
Miletus; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to
Jerusalem, whence he was sent prisoner to *Rome*, and
 never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*, *Heb.*
13. 23. Phil. 1. 1. *Philem.* v. 1. *Col.* 1. 1. *Heb.* 13. 23. we
 find *Timothy* a prisoner with him; and these Epi-
 stles which *Paul* wrote while he was prisoner at *Rome*,
 namely the Epistle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*,
 to the *Colossians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention
 of *Timothy* as his companion at these times, nor do
 we ever find him again at *Ephesus*, for we find that
 after all this, towards the end of Saint *Pauls* life, af-
 ter his first answering before *Nero*, and vwhen he said
 his departing was at hand, he sent for *Timothy* to
Rome, not from *Ephesus*; *2 Tim.* 4. 6. 10, 11, 12, 16.
 for it seems that *Timothy* vvas not there, because
Paul giving *Timothy* an account of the absence of the
 most of his companions sent into divers parts, he
 saith *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*. Now if yoor Ma-
 jesty shall be pleased, to cast up into one totall that
 vvhich is said, the several journeys and stations of
Timothy, the order of them, the time spent in them,
 the nature of his employment, to negotiate the af-
 faires of *Chrst* in severall Churches and places, the si-
 lence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Bi-
 shop of any one Church, you vwill acknowvledge that
 such a man vvas not a Bishop fixed to one Church or
 precinct, and then by assuming that *Timothy* vvas such

a man, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of *Ephesus*. The like conclusion may be enforced from the like premises, from the instance of *Titus*, whom we find at *Jerusalem*, *Galat.* 1. 2. before he came to *Crete*, from whence he is sent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 3. 12. and after that he is sent to *Corinth*, from whence he is expected at *Troas*, *2 Cor.* 2. 12. and met with *Paul* in *Macedonia*, *2 Cor.* 5. 6. whence he is sent again to *Corinth*, *2 Cor.* 8. 6. and after all this is near the time of *Pauls* death at *Rome*, from whence he went not into *Crete*, but unto *Dalmatia*, *2 Tim.* 4. 10. and after this is not heard on the Scripture; and so we hope your Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon very weak proofs, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were from *Ephesus*, and *Crete* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majesty takes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from those places of *Ephesus*, and *Crete*; which if they do not conclude much of themselves, yet being accompanied by two other places which your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more, and these are *1 Tim.* v. 1. 3. *Tit.* 1. 5. As I besought thee to abide still at *Ephesus*, for this cause left I thee in *Crete*, in both which is specified the occasionall employment, for which they made stay in those places: and the expressions used, I besought thee to abide still at *Ephesus*, I left thee in *Crete*, doe not sound like words of installment of a man into a Bishoprick, but of an intendment to call them away again; and if the first and last be put together, his actuall revocation of them both, the intimation of his intention, that they should not stay there for continuance, and the reason of his beseeching the one to stay, and of his leaving the other behind him, which was some present defects and distempers in those Churches, they will put fair to prove that the Apo-

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He intended not to establish them Bishops of those
places, and therefore did not. For the *Postscripts*, be-
cause your Majesty laies no great weight upon them,
we shall not be solicitous in producing evidence a-
gainst them, though they do bear witness in a matter
of fact, which in our opinion *never was*, and in your
Majesties judgement *was long before they were borne*,
and so we conclude this discourse about *Timothy* and
Titus with this Observation, That in the same very E-
pistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which your Majesty
hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Bishop, and
did exercise Episcopall Government; there is clear e-
vidence both for Presbyters *imposing hands*, in Ordina-
tion, and for their *Ruling*.

In the next point concerning the Angels of the
Churches, though your Majesty saith, that you lay no
weight upon the *Allegory* or *Mystery* of the denomi-
nation; yet you assert, that the persons bearing that
name were *persona singulares*, and in a word *Bishops*,
who yet are never so called in Scripture, and the alle-
goricall denomination of Angels or Starrs, which in
the judgement of ancient and modern Writers doth
belong to the faithfull Ministers and Preachers of the
Word in generall, is appropriate (as we may so say)
to the *Myter* and *Crozier staffe*, and so opposed to ma-
ny expresse testimonies of Scripture: And if your
Majesty hath been particular in that, wherein you say
the strength of your instance lies, *viz.* The judgement
of all ancient, and of the best modern Writers, and
many probabilities in the Text it self, we hope to
have made it apparent, that many ancient and emi-
nent Writers, many probabilities out of the Text it
self do give evidence to the contrary. To that which
is asserted, That these singular persons were Bishops
in distinct sense, whether we brought any thing of
moment to infirme this, we humbly submit to your
Majesties

Majesties judgement, and shall onely represent to you, that in your Reply you have not taken notice of that which in our Answer seemes to us of moment, which is this; That in *Mysterious* and *prophetick writings* or *visional representations* (such as this of the stars and golden Candlesticks is) a number of things or persons is usuallly exprest in *singulars*, and this in visions is the usuall way of Representation of things, a thousand persons making up one Church, is represented by one *Candlestick*; Many Ministers making up one Presbytery, by one *Angell*. And because your Majesty seems to call upon us to be particular, though we cannot name the Angells, nor are satisfied in our judgement, that those whom some do undertake to name were intended by the name of Angells in those Epistles; yet we say, *First*, that these Epistles were sent unto the Churches, and that under the expression of *this thou dost*, or *this thou hast*, and *the like*, the Churches are respectively intended, for the *sin reprov'd*, the *repentance commanded*, the *punishments threatned*, are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the singular Angells only, and yet we do not think that *Salvatus* did intend, nor do we, that in formall denomination the *Angels* and *Candlesticks* are the same.

Secondly, The Angels of these Churches or *Rulers* were a *Collective Body*, which we endeavoured to prove by such probabilities as your Majesty takes no notice of, namely the instance of the Church of *Ephesus*, where there were many Bishops, to whom the charge of that Church was Saint *Paul* at his finall departure from them committed, as also by that expression, *Revel. 2. 24. To you* and to the rest in *Thyatira*; which distinction makes it very probable, that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality*, to you; the like to which many expressions may be found

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in these Epistles, which to interpret according to
the consentient evidence of other Scriptures of the
New Testament, is not safe onely, but Solid and E-
vidential.

Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Epistolary
Letters to *Collective Bodies*, usually are (that is) to
One, but intended to the *Body*; which your Majesty
illustrateth by your sending a Message to your two
Houses, and directing it to the *Speaker of the House*
Peers; which as it doth not hinder (we confesse)
but that the *Speaker is one single person*; so it doth not
prove at all, that the *Speaker is always the same per-*
son; or if he were, that therefore because your Mes-
sage is directed to him, he is the *Governour or Ruler*
of the two Houses in the least; and so your Majesty
hath given clear instance, that though these Letters
be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithstanding
they might neither be Bishops, nor yet *perpetuall Mo-*
derators. For the severall opinions specified in your
MAJESTIES paper, *three* of them, by easie
and fair accommodation (as wee declared before)
are soon reduced and united amongst themselves,
and may be holden without *recess* from the re-
ceived judgment of the Christian Church, by such
as are farre from meeting that Aspersiō, which is
cast upon the *Reformed Divines*, by Popish Wri-
ters, that they have divided themselves from the com-
mon and received judgment of the *Christian Church*;
which imputation, we hope, was not in your Ma-
jesties intention to lay upon us, *untill* it be made
clear that it is the common and received judgment of
the *Christian Church that now is*, or of that in *former*
Ages, that the Angels of the Churches were Bishops,
having Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within
their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that
the

the Apostles were to have any Successours in their Office, and affirmed onely *two Orders of Ordinary and Standing Officers* in the Church, viz. *Presbyters and Deacons*. Concerning the former of which your MAJESTY refers to what you had in part already declared. 'That in those things which were extraordinary in the Apostles, as namely the measure of their Gifts, &c. They had no Successours in *eundem gradum*; but in those things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing (which are necessary for the Service of the Church in all Times) they were to have and had no Successours: Where your Majesty delivers a Doctrine *new* to us. Namely, that the Apostles had Successours into their Offices, not into their Abilities: For besides that, Succession is not properly into Abilities, but into Office; We cannot say, that one succeeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive, that the office Apostolical was extraordinary *in whole*, because their Mission and Commission was so, and the service or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times doth not render their Office ordinary; as the Office of *Moses* was not rendered Ordinary, because many works of Government exercised by him, were re-committed to the *standing Elders of Israel*: And if they have Successours, it must be either into their whole Office, or into some parts: Their Successours into the whole (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called *Apostles*; the same Office gives the same Denomination; and then we shall confess that Bishops, if they be their Successours in Office, are of *Divine Institution*, because the Apostolical Office was so; if their *Successours* come into part of their Office onely, the *Presbyters* may be as well called their

Successours,

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Successors, as the Bishops, and so indeed they are called by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenaus, Origen, Hierome*, and others : Whereas in truth the Apostles have not properly *Successors* into office, but the ordinary power of Teaching and Governing (which is settled in the Church for continuance) is instituted and settled in the hands of ordinary Officers by a *new warrant* and Commission according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which the the Bishop hath not yet produced for himself, and without which he cannot challenge it upon the generall allusive Speeches used by the Fathers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the *extent* of their work amongst those things which were *extraordinary* in the Apostles, we could wish that you had declared whether it belong to their Mission or Unction; for we humbly conceive that their authoritative power to do their work in all places of the World, did properly belong to their Mission, and consequently that their office, as well as their Abilities was extraordinary, and so by your *Majesties own concession* not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church your Majesty doth reply, ' That although in the places cited, *Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 8.* there be no mention ' but of the *two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons*; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides; which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not only because there are no other named, but because there is no rule of Ordaining any *third, no Warrant or way of Mission*, and so the Argument is as good, as can be made, *à non causa ad non effectum*; for we do not yet apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apostolick Office do also pretend to the same manner of Mission, nor do we know that those very many Divines

vines that have asserted *two orders only*, have concluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other manifest reasons why the Office of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest then these two, *viz.* because, *It was not.*

‘ The one reason given by your Majesty, is because
 ‘ in the Churches which the Apostles themselves
 ‘ planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the
 ‘ Office of Teaching, but reserved in their *own hands*
 ‘ the power of Governing those Churches for a longer
 ‘ or shorter time before they set Bishops over them.
 Which under your Majesties favour is not so much a
 reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those
 places as they indeed were not; the variety of rea-
 sons (may we say, or conjectures) rendred why Bi-
 shops were not set up at *first*, as namely because *fit*
men could not be so soon found out, which is *Epi-*
phanius his reason; or for remedy of *Schisme*, which
 is *Jeromes* reason, or because the Apostles saw it not
expedient, which is your M A J E S T I E S reason: doth
 shew that this cause labours under a manifest weak-
 ness; for the Apostles reserving in their own hands
 the power of Governing, we grant it, they could
 no more develt themselves of power of Governing,
 then (as Doctor *Bilson* saith) thy could lose their
 Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in all Church-
 es, they had no more parted with their power of Go-
 verning, then they did in setting up the Presby-
 ters: for we have proved that Presbyters, being cal-
 led *Rulers, Governours, Bishops*, had the power of go-
 verning in *Ordinary*, committed to them, as well
 as the Office of *Teaching*, and that both the *Keys* (as
 they are called) being by our Saviour committed in-

240 *The second Paper delivered to His Majesty to one hand*, were not by the Apostles divided into two: Nor do we see, how the Apostles could, reasonably commit the Government of the Church to the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, *Acts 20.* and yet reserve the power of governing (*viz.* in ordinary) in his own hands, who took *his solemn leave of them as never to see their faces more.* As that part of the power of Government, which for distinction sake may be called *Legis-Lative*, and which is one of the three fore-mentioned things challenged by the Bishops; *viz. Giving Rules*, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindered not; but that in your MAJESTIES judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives Rules for ordering and governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the power of governing, which is called Executive in such cases, and upon such occasions as they thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of power in their hands can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, then that *they never did.* And since (by your Majesties Concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apostles *first*, in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of Governing, as we prove by Scripture, you must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after times, or else we must conclude that the Bishops got both his Name and power of Government out of the Presbyters hand, as the *Tree in the wal* roots out the stones by little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty saith, it may be probable there *was yet no Bishop*, it is certaine there *were many* like them, who were also at *Ephesus*, to whom if onely the Office of Teaching did belong, they

they had the most laborious and honourable part, that which was lesse honorable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean time without ordinary Government.

The other reason given why two Orders only are mentioned in those places is, because he wrote in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Bishops, so there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice and qualification of any other sort of Officers then such, as belonged to their Ordination and inspection, which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two only Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this latter reason why the same two onely are mentioned in these Epistles, is because there was *no Bishop to be ordained*; we might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the Ordination of the other order of Bishops in some other place of Scripture, but if the *Ordination cannot be found*, how should we find the Order? and it is reasonable to think, that the Apostle in the Chapter formerly alledged, *1 Tim. 3.* where he passes immediately from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have distinctly exprest, or at least hinted, what sort of Bishop he meant, whether the *Bishop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Bishop*, to have avoided the confusion of the name, and to have set as it were some mark of difference in the *Eschocheon* of the Presbyter-Bishop, if there had been some other Bishop of *a bigger house*. And whereas your Maj. saith, there was no need to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sense, who belonged not to their ordination and inspection; we conceive that in your Majesties judgment, Bishops might then have ordained Bishops like themselves; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one single Bishop

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to ordain another of his own rank, and there being
many cities in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it ex-
pedient (as those ancient Fathers that call him Arch-
Bishop think he did) to have set up Bishops in some
of those cities: so that this reason fights against the
principles of those that hold *Timothy* & *Titus* to have
been Bishops; for our part we believe that these rules
belonged not to *Timothy* & *Titus* with strict limitati-
on to *Ephesus* & *Crete*; but respectively to all the pla-
ces or Churches where they might come; and to all
that shall at any time have the office of Ordaining and
Governing, as it is written in the same Chapter,
1 Tim. 3. 14, 15. Those things I have written unto thee,
&c. that thou mayest know how to behave thy self in the
House of God, which is the Church; and therefore if
there had been any proper character or qualification
of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; if any Ordina-
tion or Office, we think the Apostle would have signi-
fied it, but because he did not, we conclude (and the
more strongly from the insufficiency of your Maje-
sties two reasons) that there are onely two Orders of
Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is not supe-
rior to a Presbyter: for we find not (as we said in
our Answer) that one Officer is superior to another,
who is of the same Order.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

‘Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, that
‘you could not in conscience consent to abolish E-
‘piscopal Government, because you did conceive it
‘to be of Apostolical Institution, practised by the A-
‘postles themselves, and by them committed and de-
‘rived to particular persons as their Successors, and
‘have ever since till these last times been exercised by
‘Bishops in all the Churches of Christ: We thought
it

it necessary in our Answer, to subjoyne to that we had said out of the Scriptures, the judgement of divers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bishops were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Ecclesiastical Institution*, as that which might very much conduce both to the easing of your Majesties scruple, to consider that howsoever Episcopall Government was generally currant, yet the superscription was not judged Divine, by some of those that either were themselves Bishops, or lived under that government, and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold, from the prejudice of *Novellisme*, or of *recesse* from the judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chrysostome* and *Austin* were Bishops, as that *Aristotle* was a *Philosopher*, *Cicero* an Oratour; though we should rather call our faith and belief thereof certain in matter of fact, upon humane testimonies uncontrolled, then infallible in respect of the Testimonies themselves. But whereas your Majesty saith, 'That the darknesse of the History of the Church, in the time succeeding the Apostles, is a strong argument for Episcopacy, which notwithstanding that darknesse, hath found so full proof by unquestioned Catalogues, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like. We humbly conceive that those fore-mentioned times were dark to the Catalogue-makers, who must drive the *series* of Succession from, and through those Historicall darkneses, and so make up their catalogues very much from Tradition and Reports, which can give no great evidence, because they agree not amongst themselves: that which is the great blemish of their evidence is, that the neerer they come to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most of all clear, to establish the Succession firm and clear at first) the more doubtfull, uncertain, and indeed contradictory

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contradictory to one another, are the Testimonies:
Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of *Rome*, after
Peter, some say the third: and the intricacies about
the Order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*,
and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inex-
tricable. Some say, that *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete*;
some say Archbishop; and some Bishop of *Dalma-*
ria. Some say, that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*;
and some say, that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the
same time: Some say that *Polycarpus* was first Bi-
shop of *Smyrna*; another saith, that he succeeded
one *Bucolus*; and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some
say, that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other
Cities two; and others, that there was but one Bi-
shop of one City at the same time. And how should
those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be
made up out of Testimonies that fight one with ano-
ther? We must confesse that the ancient Fathers,
Tertullian, *Irenaeus*, &c. made use of Succession, as an
Argument against *Heretikes*, or Innovators, to prove
that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that
the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side.
But that which we now have in hand, is Succession in
Office; which according to the Catalogues, resolves
it self into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first
Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we conceive)
could not be Bishops of those places, being of an
higher Office; though according to the language of
after-times they might by them that drew up the ca-
talogues, be so called, because they planted, and
founded, and watered those Churches to which they
are intituled, and had their greatest residence in them:
or els the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent
men that were of great veneration and reverence in
the times and places where they lived, and Presi-
dents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof
themselves

themselves were members : from whom ; to pretend the succession of after Bishops , is as if it should be said , that *Cæsar* was Successor to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive , that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old , which are asserted to be found in the Apostolicall and primitive times , and yet have no colour of Divine institution , and , which is an Argument above all other , the Fathers whose names were exhibited to your Majesty in our Answer , were doubtles acquainted with the Catalogues of Bishops who had been before them , & yet did hold them to be of *Ecclesiastical institution*. And lest your Majesty might reply , that however the Testimonies & Catalogues may vary , or be mistaken in the order , or times , or names of those Persons that succeeded the Apostles , yet all agree , that there was a succession of some persons ; and so though the credit of the Catalogues be infirmed , yet the thing intended is confirmed thereby : we grant that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches , while they continued Churches , cannot be denied , and that the Apostles and Evangelists that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiasticall writers , in *compliance with the language and usage of their own times* , called Bishops ; and so were other eminent men , of chief note , *presiding* in the *Presbyterys* of the Cities or Churches , called by such writers as wrote after the division or distinction of the names of Presbyters , and Bishops : but that those first and antientest Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense , according to your Majesties description , invested with power over Presbyters and people , to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of ordaining , giving Rules , and Censures ; we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent testimonies. And

246 *The second Paper delivered to his Majesty* granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *seriatim*: yet if these from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either more than Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or lesse than Bishops, as meerly first Presbyters, having not one of the *three essentialls to Episcopal government* (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all that your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the *Homonymy* and equivocall acceptation of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the distinction of the things, we refer our selves to himsele in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himsele is called a Bishop, may doubt of *Clemens opinion*, concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather not doubt of it, if only his one Epistle may be impaneld upon the inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some earnestnesse of expression, charging some of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partiall disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to discredit his writings. One of those cited by us, cannot (as we conceive) be suspected of disaffection to Bishops; and there are great arguments drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their insincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpolations*; So that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in grosse, we make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the rest of the Popish writers do) of such rites and observations, as the Church
in

in his time cannot be thought to have owned. He doth indeed give testimony to the *Prelacy* of a Bishop above a Presbyter, that which may justly render him suspected, is that he, *gives too much honour* (saith he) *the Bishops* as Gods high Priests, and after him you must honour the King. He was indeed a holy Martyr, and his writings have suffered *Martyrdom*, as well as he, *corruptions could not go current, but under the credit of worthy names.*

That which your Majesty saith in your fourth Paragraph; That we might have added (if we had pleased) That *James, Timothy, Titus &c.* were constituted and ordained Bishops, of the forementioned places respectively, and that all the Bishops of those times were reputed Successors to the *Apostles in their Episcopall office*: we could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apostles did not ordain *any of themselves Bishops*, nor could they do it; for even by your Majesties concession, they were Bishops before, *viz.* as they were Apostles; nor could any Apostle have his choice of a *certain Region* or place to exercise his function in, whilst he pleased render him a Bishop, any more than *Paul* was Bishop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumcision*. Neither did the Apostles ordaine the Evangelists Bishops of those places unto which they sent them: Nor were the Bishops of those times any more than as your Majesty, saith *reputed Successors* to the Apostles, in their Episcopall Office, they came after the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might Presbyters do; but that is not properly succession, at least not succession into Office, and this we say with a *Salvo* to our assertion, that in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters: Neither do we understand, whether the words *Episcopall Office*, in this Section, refer to the Bishops or

Apostles ; for in reference to Apostles , it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office , into Apostolical and Episcopall, or that the office Apostolicall was wholly Episcopall , unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of two only Orders, your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters , is imported, That which his Majesty not long ago called *Our old fallacy* , is now your answer only with this difference : We under promiscuous names hold the same office : your Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two, which if as it is often asserted was but once proved , we should take it for a determinate of this controversie. Secondly, that they relate to a School-point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopus sit ordo vel gradus* , both sides of the questionists or disputants in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church Government in the Bishops alone ; It is confest by us , that that question as it is stated by Popish Authors , is a curious nicety, to which we have no eye or reference ; for though the same Officers may differ from and excell others of the same Order in gifts or qualifications ; yet the Office it selfe is one and the same without difference or degrees, as one Apostle or Presbyter , is not superiour to another in degree of Office , they that are of the same order are of the same degree , in respect of Office , as having power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or allow , any superiority of one over another of the same Order ; and therefore the proving of two Orders only in the Church , is a Demonstration , that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-balance the testimonies of those that assert three degrees or orders though ten for one. But for easing of your Majesty of the

the trouble of producing testimonies against those cited by us, we make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both sides may be discharged out of the field, and the point disputed by dint of holy Scripture, *id verum quod primum.*

Having passed through the argumentative parts of your Majesties Reply, wherein we should account it a great happinesse to have given your Majesty any satisfaction, in order whereunto you pleased to honour us with this imployment, we shall contract our selves in the remainder, craving your Majesties pardon, if you shall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which followes. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royall Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamentall accessions granted to the person, doe not make any substantiall change in the Office; the real difference between that Episcopall Government, which first obtained in the Church, and the present Hierarchy, consists in *ipso regimine, & modo regimini*, which cannot be clearly demonstrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both sides, what that Episcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether these three fore-mentioned essentials of Episcopall Government, were the same in both: for the power under Christian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the same, though the exercise be not. And we humbly receive your Majesties Pious advertisement, (not unlike that of *Constantines*) stirring us up as men unbiassed with private interests, to study the neereſt accommodation and best resemblance to the apostolicall and primitive times. But for your Majesties *Salvo* to the Bishops sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and that distinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Bishop, and the Concomitant in the Presbytery,

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which you seem to found upon these two Texts, two
Tim. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 4. 14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson*,
and other defenders of Episcopacy, in Explication of
that Canon of the fourth Councell of *Carthage*, which
enjoynes the joynt imposition of the Bishops and
Presbyters hands, we shall give your Majesty an ac-
count, when we shall be called to the disquisition
thereof; Albeit that we do not for the present see,
but that this proviso of your Majesty, renders our ac-
commodation to the Apostolicall and primitive times
(whereunto you did exhort us) unseisable. We not-
withstanding, do fully professe our acknowledgement
of subordination of the outward exercise of jurisdic-
tion, to the Sovereine power, and our accomptable-
nesse to the Lawes of the Land. As for your Maje-
sties three questions of great importance, whether
there be a certain form of Government, left by Christ
or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Churches;
whether it bind perpetually, or be upon occasion alterable
in whole, or in part; whether that certain form of
Government be the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or some
other differing from them both: the whole Volume of
Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in them; and we hope
that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular
answer to them at this time, nor will take offence at
us, if we hold only to that which is the question, in
order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly profess
our readinesse to serve your Majesty, answering these
or any other questions, within our proper *cognizance*,
according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesties condiscention, in vouchsafing
us the liberty and honour of examining your learned
Reply, clothed in such excellency of Stile, and for
your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we
are; and for the acceptation of our humble duty we
render

render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities, may ever be employed in a Subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in this point under debate, *su cession* is not the best *clew* and most certaine and ready way to find out the *Originall*; for to go that way is to go the furthest way about, yea, *to go backward*; and when you are at the *spring*, viz. the *Scripture* it selfe, you go to the *Rivers* end, that you may seek the *spring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, by the right hand of his Counsell, and shew you a happy way of healing our unhappy differences, and of settling of the Common wealth of Iesus Christ, which is the Church; so as all the Members thereof, may be under you in all godlineffe, peace and Honesty.



His MAJESTIES finall Answer concerning Episcopacy, November the first,

1648.

VVHat you have offered by way of reply to his Majesties second paper of Octob. 6. in yours of October 17. in order to the further satisfaction of his conscience in point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard when it was publickly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath since (so far as his leasure would permit) taken the same into his private and

serious Consideration; Wherein his Majesty not only acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to inform his Judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter in debate; but also taketh speciall notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the Body and Conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withall, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this Reply. Which to have shewn, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to every passage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time than his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature, Especially since his Majesty hath often found mutuall returns of long answers, and Replies, to have rather multiplied disputes by starting new questions, than informing the conscience by removing *former scruples*.

1. *Reply, Sect. 1.* 2. *As to the Scriptures cited in the Margin of his Majesties first paper.* It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single persons to have exercised respectively the severall points, in the paper specified, which powers (by your own confessions in this Reply) (*Sect. 7.*) a single person who is but a meer Presbyter hath no right to exercise: And it being withall evident, that a Bishop in the Ecclesiasticall sense, & as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more than to a peculiar right in the exercise of some, or all of the said powers, which a meer Presbyter hath not; the Conclusion seemeth naturall and evident, that such a power of Church-Government as we usually call Episcopall is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. *Reply, Sect. 3. 5. As to the Bishops Challenge, First when*

when you speak of a Writ of partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and cantoned out the Episcopal Office, one part to the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the same again afterwards (*Sect. 6.*) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the Office (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*that of governing Churches*) to the Bishop alone. Secondly you infer from his Majesties words, 'That the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more than was formerly pretended to. Which inference his Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles, and others; his Majesty said but this onely, 'That the Bishops challenge no more, or other power to belong unto them, in respect of their Episcopall Office; than what properly falleth under one of these three. The words are true; for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might safely say, they challenge no more. But the inference is not good. For he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination which is purely spiritual, his Majesty conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much-what the same in all times of the Church; And therefore it is, that the matter of Ordination is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between Bishops & Presbyters, especially after the times of *Constantine*, which his Majesty by your relating to *Chrysostom* & *Hierome* taketh to be the same you call the times of *Grown Episcopacy*. But his Majesty seeth no necessity, that the Bishops challenge to the power of Jurisdiction should be at all times as large

as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have bin; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes doe challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall Office precisely, as was exercised in the Primitive times by Bishops before the dayes of *Constantine*. The reason of the difference being evident, That in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct Body of it self, divided from the Common-wealth, and so was to be governed by its own Rules, and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens persons or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their Government, they exercised a very large power of Jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus*; in making Ecclesiasticall Canons, receiving accusations, conventing the accused, examining witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords supper, enjoining penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others: But after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers, the Jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civill power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowledged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing

nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their Gifts, and Enablements only; whereas his Majesty in that paper hath in express words named as Extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly, for the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, His Majesty was willing to decline both the Term (as being by reason of the different acception of it subject to mis-construction) and the dispute whether by Christ or his Apostles. Neverthelesse, although his Majesty sees no cause to dislike their opinion, who derive the Episcopall power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the Apostles would not either have exercised it themselves, or derived it to others; Yet for that the practice in them is so clear, and evident, and the warrant from him express but in general terms (As my Father sent me, so send I you, and the like) His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practice, as the more evidentiall way, than upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more dispute.

3. *Reply, Sect. 6. As to the definition of Episcopacy.* First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Episcopall, his Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been otherwise.

Secondly, his Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (*Timothy, Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found viz. that they had each their severall peculiar charges, and that within their severall precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others. Nei-

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needfull that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together; It would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue, is not the Name or Work merely, but the Office, and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular Office from a generall or common Work: But judgeth withall it can be no fallacy to argue a particular Office, from such a work as is peculiar to that Office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbyter.

4 Reply, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz. Tit. 1. Acts 20. 2 Pet. 5.* First when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; If you take it so, truly you take it *gratis*, (His Majesty never gave it you :) and you mistake it too, more wayes than one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in order to the present businesse, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expresse words are, 'Although his Majesty be not sure that the proof wil reach so far in each of those places, which words plainly evidence, that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed

deed no concession ; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usual in Disputations, *Dato, non concessio*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground those words, 'That in those times of the Church there was no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture. What his Majesty said is confessed on all sides (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in those places mentioned as the Office & Work of a Bishop are (upon that supposal) the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is so manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing his words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make a concession, which his Majesty (warned by your Example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, *viz.* When you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and presse the same from the force of the words ποιμαίνειν & ἐπισκοπεῖν, and from the circumstances of the Text, and otherwise adding withall that his Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of something by you alleged therein. Hereunto his Majesty saith, that he waved not any thing in your former paper

per, for any great difficultie he conceived of answering it; but being desirous to contract his answer, & knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjecturall Expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit the satisfaction of his judgment and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, That there are, who by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some *probabilities* in the *text*, interpret those places in the *Acts* & in *S. Peter* of Bishops properly so called, & in the restrained Ecclesiasticall sense, rather than of ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them both meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words *ποιμαίνειν* and *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applied to them as inferiour Pastors, in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the Flock being in both the places expressly mentioned) which hindereth not, but the same words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Bishops in respect of that authority and oversight they have over Presbyters themselves also; That still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more than that the two names in that place are given to the same Function: That from all the premises in your paper there laid together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those Names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty should well

well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epistles onely of *S. Paul to Timothy*, Wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that *Timothy* might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those offices: So in the directions given to *Timothy* throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work and duty of a Bishop, that *Timothy* might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his Episcopall Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge: and that the same was after by Ecclesiasticall usage appropriated to Bishops you deny not: But the distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, & *Episcopus pastorum*, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the unfitnesse of the word as may seem by that passage, where you say, that his Majesty hath said, that *Episcopus* signifieth a Keeper of Shepherds; His Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person, the stile of *Episcopus pastorum*, than there is in using of the word *ἀρχιποιμῆν*, or in calling *Doeg* the Master of *Sauls* Herdmen. And for the thing it self, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles, and *Timothy* and *Titus* (by what claim ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the present businesse it matters not) had the oversight and authority over many Pastors, and were therefore truly and really *Episcopi pastorum*.

The appropriation of the names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* to these distinct Offices, considering that it was done so early, and received so universally in the Church

His Majesties third paper delivered to Church, as by the writings of *Clemens, Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear. His Majesty hath great reason to believe, that it was done by consent of the primitive Bishops, meerly in honour of the Apostles, out of their respect and reverence to whose persons, and personall prerogatives, they chose to call themselves Bishops, rather than Apostles, in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain their succession from the Apostles, when they spake of things proper to the Episcopall Function, not to use upon occasion the terms of Apostle and Apostolical in that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-*originall* of Bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity & reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation & reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate & even passions, of *orthodox* belief, sundry of them uninteressed in the quarrel, and some of them of later times by interest & education byassed rather the other way. Their assertions positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (*constat, & nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions) Namely that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy is divinis de*, The Ordinance of God; That it seemed good to the *holy Ghost* so to order it, &c. Inasmuch as they counted *Aerius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as lead there.

thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture (*ἡ αὐτὴ ἀποκρίσις*, Gods word teacheth it, *peris Scriptura testimoniis*, It appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture, *discimus ex hoc loco*, From this place we learn, and the like) which testimonies should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary, for number, and in every other respect equall thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessened thereby: inasmuch as one witness for the Affirmative ought to be of more value than ten for the Negative; and the testimony of one person that is not interested, than of an hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kinde of tryall, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet, in the true stating of it, & in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact, and not of right; For what right soever the Bishops have or pretend to have, must be derived from the fact of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. Which matter of fact if it be not in the most plain *historical manner* that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rationall & proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the Iudgement, but especially to the practice of the nearest and subsequent times; according to the received Maxims, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & Consuetudo optimus interpret Legum*. Now he that shall find by all the best Records extant, that the *distinction of Bishops* from, & the *superiority over Presbyters* was so universally and speedily spread over the face of the *whole World*, and their *government* submitted unto so *unanimously* by the *Presbyters*, that there never was any *considerable opposition* made there, against before *Aerius* (and that cried

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down as an *Herest*) nor since till this last Age : & shall
duly consider withall ; that if *Episcopall government*
had not an indubitable *institution* from the *authority* of
Christ and his *Apostles*, or if any other form of *Church-*
government could have pretended to such *institution* ,
had bin the most impossible thing in the world , when
there neither was any *outward certaine power* to *inforce*
it , nor could be any *General Councel* to *establisb* *it* , to
have introduced such a form of *Government* so sud-
denly and quietly , into all *Christian Churches* , and
not the spirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought that ap-
peareth for above three hundred yeares , to have
been provoked either through zeal , ambition , or o-
ther motive , to stand up in the just defence of their
owne and the Churches liberty against such an *usur-*
pation. His Majesty believeth that whosoever shall
consider the *premises* , together with the Scripture
evidences that are brought for that *Government* , will
see reason enough to conclude the same to have some-
thing of divine institution in it , notwithstanding all
the evasions and objections that the subtile wit of man
can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore
his Majesty thinketh it fit , plainely to tell you , that
such Conjecturall interpretations of Scripture as he
hath yet met with in this Argument , how handsome-
ly soever set off , are not Engines of strength enough
to remove him from that judgment wherein he hath
been settled from his Childhood , and findeth so con-
sonant to the judgment of Antiquity , and to the con-
stant practice of the Christian Church for so many
hundred years ; which in a matter of this nature
ought to weigh more than meer conjecturall infe-
rences from Scripture Texts that are not so attested.
Which having now once told you his Majesty ,
thinketh himselfe discharged from the necessity of
making so large and particular an Answer to evry alle-
gation

gation in the sequell of your reply, as hitherto he hath done.

6. *Reply*, Sect. 9. As to the Apostles Mission and Succession, To make his answer the shorter to so long a discourse, his Majesty declareth, that his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission and Unction of the Apostles, so to confine them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more especially and eminently to relate: For the Apostles after their last mission, (*Matth: 28. 19, 20.*) whereby they were further warranted to their Office, and Worke, were yet to wait for that promised anointing (*Luke 24. 49. Acts 1. 4.*) the speciall effect whereof was the enduing them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better and more effectually performing of that their work and Office, nor was it his Majesties meaning to restrain the extraordinaries in the Apostolicall Office to those gifts only, (For his Majesty afterwards in the same paper mentioneth other extraordinaries also, as before is said) but only to instance in those gifts, as one sort of extraordinaries, wherein the Apostles were to have no successors. But his Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apostolicall Office (setting aside all and only what was personall and extraordinary in them) consisted in the worke of teaching and governing, which being both of necessary and perpetuall use in the Church to the worlds end, the Office therefore was also to continue, and consequently the persons of the Apostles being mortall, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession: And that the Ordinary Successors of the Apostles immediately, and into the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Bishops, the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching only, and that

mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom they are to be ordained & authorized thereunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a dissolving of the Apostolicall Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said concerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratts*, is this, The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ, or his Apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts of power merely extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of necessary and perpetuall use; othersome lastly, and those not a few, Occasionall and Prudentiall, fitted to the present condition of the Church in severall times: To the Apostles in matters of the first sort none pretends succession: nor are either the Examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they should doe in matters of the third sort, to be drawn into consequence so far as to be made necessary Rules, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all Times to perpetuall observation. So that there remain the things of the middle sort onely, which we may call Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have ordinary and standing Successors. But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Substantials and Prudentials may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts exprest in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more generall Criterians [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Usage. Our own Reason will tell us, that instruct-

ing

ing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhorting them to Piety, and good Works, administering the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of teaching: That ordaining of Ministers, Inspection over their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations of Ecclesiasticall affairs belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance, and necessary concernment to the Churches in all Ages and Times, and therefore were to be concredited to standing Officers in a Line of Succession, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of Christ: But that on the other side the decrees concerning Abstinence from Bloud, and strangled, *Acts* the 15. The directions given for the ordering some things in the Church Assemblies, *1 Cor.* 14. For making provisions for the poor, *1 Cor.* 16. 1. For the choice and maintenance of Widowes, *1 Tim.* 5. For the enoyling of the sick, *James* 5. 14. and other like, were but occasionall, prudential, and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Churches, and the practice of them accordingly laid aside. So for the succession into the Apostolicall Office, wee find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing the Churches. And common Reason and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent Precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours; And the difference of Bishops and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid, having been by continuall usage received, and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the present times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of Bishops to the Apostles, into so much of their Office as was ordinary and perpetuall; and such a distinction of Bishops and Presbyters as his Majesty hath former-

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ly expressed, needeth no further confirmation from
Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their
Reason also. which in interpreting Scripture upon all
other occasions they are enforced to do) nor any
thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further
answer; onely that distinction of Eminently and For-
mally, because you illustrate it by instancing in Him-
self his Majesty could not but take notice of , which
he either understandeth not, or thinketh your illu-
stration thereof not to be very apposite: For Actions
and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and de-
monstrate the same as effects doe their causes. The A-
postles therefore acting in the ordinary exercise of
Church Government, did act not Eminently only, but
Formally also, as Bishops rather than Apostles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. Reply. Sect. 10. 15. First, whether there were
Evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant to dispute.
Onely, because you often call for Scripture prooffe, his
Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that in your
Answer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Ti-*
mothy and *Titus* were Evangelists, and that Evange-
lists were such Officers as you described) Neither of
which if it should be denyed, you could clearly prove
from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of
other Writers to attest it, as in your Reply you have
now done Mr. *Hookers*; Neither have you indeed
brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to
prove either of both sufficient to convince him that
were of a contrary minde.

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 12.) to mistake that
which was the third point in that part of his Majesties
paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were
Evangelists, or no; (concerning which his Majesty
neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the
Church

Church government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you affirme) and so onely as extraordinary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having said that the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 *Tim.* 4. and concludeth, *Constat idem fuisse officium utriusq;* Bishop and Evangelist the same Office both. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the speciall sense; that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospell at large (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import no more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And *Scultetus* not onely affirmeth, That *S. Paul* appointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, not as Evangelists, but as Church-governours; but saith further, That the Epistles written to them both doe evince it, and also bringeth Reasons to prove it. Vpon what particular reasons *Gillespy, &c.* reject the conceit of their acting as Evangelists, his Majesty certainly knowes not: But if this be one of their Arguments (as to their best remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information, it is) That *if whatsoever is alleged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by Timothy and Titus, in point of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purposes aforesaid.* His Majesty then recommendeth to your most sober thoughts to consider, First, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary Ministers onely, tends to the subversion of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since upon this very ground especially, the *Socinians* deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the Church.) And secondly if the contrary be proved by *Gillespy, &c.* by good Arguments, That they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether

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they have not thereby laid a better foundation for
the claim of Bishops, viz. of governing the Churches
as single persons in ordinary Office) than either they
or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty
which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as
you have done, viz. *The Scriptures never call them Bi-*
shops but the Fathers do: whereas if you had followed
his sense in that paper, you might rather have deli-
vered thus, The Scripture describeth them as Bi-
shops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of
yours, *The Scripture calls Timothy an Evangelist, some*
of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn: You
should have said rather, The Scripture doth not any
where affirm of *Titus*, nor clearly prove of *Timothy*,
that they were (by peculiar Office) Evangelists;
but that in governing the Churches they acted
as Evangelists, or extraordinary Officers, is by
sundry late Writers (the evasion it selfe having
been out of late minted) refuted, and rejected.
For that of yours, *The Scripture relates their*
motion from Church to Church, but some affirm them to
be fix'd at Ephesus and in Crete: It should have
been, Neither doth their motion from Church to
Church hinder, but they might afterwards be
fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Crete*: Neither doth their
being Bishops at *Ephesus* and *Crete* hinder, but they
might afterwards, for propagation of the Gospel, be
by the Apostles appointment often imployed other
where. For that of yours, *The Scripture makes distin-*
ction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Timo-
thy and Titus were both: It should have been, The
Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists
and Pastors, but that the same persons might not only
successively be both, but even at the same time also
be called by both Names.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Though you say, *You do not undervalue the Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned*, yet you endeavour (which commeth not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much, of those testimonies by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in debate. But of *Hierom*, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers. wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historica*, and to describe the persons of such as are registred in that catalogue by their proepr and known distinctive Titles and Stiles, he expressely stileth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Policarp*, and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other-side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesia Antiochena*, or *Alexandria Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference so constantly and exactly throughout the whole book, that nothing can be more clear, than that he understood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise, than in the Ordinary Ecclesiasticall sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you allege out of him, by custom in the judgment of learned men, he must mean the practice of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expresse precept of Christ, unlesse you would have him contradict what himselfe hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimonies in the behalfe of Episcopal superiority, are so clear and frequent in his Writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole businesse: as for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long discourse concerning the severall
sta-

station; and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (13. 14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Crete* (15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needfull (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the severall Epistles written to them, sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it be supposed withall (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you presse again of 1 *Tim.* 13. and *Titus* 1.5. weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your owne judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further Answer; save onely, that his Majesty knoweth not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Crete*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were Colleges of Presbyters in those places before their comming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colleges had power

er to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop; Then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the worke; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your Principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *That in the same very Epistle to Timothy, out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling*: Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and fundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word *apocryphus* to the remoter Substantive Grace or Gift, and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or as we were wont to call it in English by derivation from that Greek word of *Priesthood* in *Timothy* himself, and not a College or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by *apocryphus* there, a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a College of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopall Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the onely cleare proof for the establishing of *Ruling-Lay Elders*, which
inte-

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interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you
will admit of.

As to the Angels of the Churches.

8. Reply. **H**IS Majesties purpose of naming these
16. 17. Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently
declared in his second, required no more to be granted
for the proving of what he intended, but these two
things onely: first, that they were *persona singulares*;
and then that they had a superiority in their respec-
tive Churches, aswell over Presbyters as others, which
two being the *Periaphras* or definition of a Bishop,
his Majesty conceived it would follow of it self, That
they were Bishops: That the Epistles directed to
them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threat-
nings, and other the contents thereof, did concerne
their fellow Presbyters also, and indeed the whole
Churches (which in your last you again remember)
his Majesty did then and doth still believe, finding
it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles them-
selves, and to the consentient judgement of Inter-
preters. Onely his Majesty said, and still doth, That
that hindreth not, but that the Angels to whom the
Epistles were directed, were *persona singulares* still:
This his Majesty illustrated by a Similitude, which
though it doe not hold in some other respects, and
namely those by you observed (for his Majesty ne-
ver dreamt of a four-footed Similitude) yet it per-
fectly illustrates the thing it was then intended for, as
is evident enough, so that there needeth no more to
be said about it.

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary
from *Revel. 2. 24. But I say to you* (*ὁ μὲν* plurally) *and to*
the rest in Thyatira, is plainly of no force, if those Co-
pies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting,
be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I say*

to you the rest in Thyatira : But following the ordinary Copies, the difficultie is not great, such manner of Apostrophes by changing the number, or turning the speech to another person, being very usuall both in prophetick Writings, such as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epistles of this nature written to one ; but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, *ὁμῶς, τοῖς ὑμῖν*, (that is, the Angel as President, and his colleagues the other Presbyters) *and to the rest*, that is, to the whole flock or People ; which manner of speaking might be illustrated by the like forms of speech to be used in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen especially, but yet the whole Town generally were concerned, but directed to the Major alone ; or from a Lord, containing some Orders for his own household especially, and generally for the whole Township, but by Inscription directed to his Steward onely, or the like.

The consent of Antient and later Writers was produced by his Majesty for the prooffe of the two things before named onely, but especially of the first, *viz.* That the Angels were *persona singulares* : (For the latter, *viz.* That they were superiour to Presbyters also, had been confessed by your selves in your first. grant before) but was not produced to prove the conclusion it self immediately, *viz.* That they were Bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their Testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, That they were single persons, the concurrence is so generall, that his Majesty remembreth not to have heard of any one single Interpreter, before *Brightman*, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Revelation*, doth scarce, if at all, any where else, save in these Seven Epistles, expound

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 pound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one
 single person or other, insomuch as he maketh one
 Angel to be *Gregory* the Great, another Queen *Eliza-*
beth, another *Cranmer*, another *Chemnitius*, and the
 like: but generally both the Fathers and Protestant
 Divines agree in this, That the Angel was a single
 person, some affirming plainly, and that *intermini*,
 he was the Bishop; some naming the very persons
 of some of them, as of *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*,
 and others; some calling him the chief Pastor or Su-
 perintendent of that Church; and those that speake
 least, and were more or lesse disaffected to Bishops,
 as *Beza*, Doctor *Reynolds*, the *Geneva Notes*, and even
Cartwright himself, the *seisara* President or chief a-
 mong the Presbyters. And this they doe sundry of
 them, not crudely delivering their Opinions onely,
 and then no more, but they give Reasons for it, and
 after examination of the severall Opinions prefer this
 before the rest, affirming, That *Doctissimi quique in-*
terpretes; all the best learned Interpreters so under-
 stand it, and that they cannot understand it otherwise,
Vm nisi facere Textui velint, unlesse they will offer
 violence to the Text.

That which his Majesty said concerning the Sub-
 division of those that had divided themselves from
 the common judgement of this Church, was meant
 by his Majesty, as to the Subdivision in respect of this
 particular of the Angels, wherein they differ one from
 another, and not as to the division in respect of their
 dislike of Bishops, wherein they all agree: And truly
 his Majesty doth not yet see, how either their diffe-
 rences can be possibly reconciled in the former (no
 accomodation in the World being able to make all
 the people of the whole Church, nor yet a College
 consisting of many Presbyters, to bee one single
 person) or their recessse wholly excused in the
 latter

latter, their dissenting from the common and received judgement, practise of the Christian Church, in the matter of Episcopacy, and the evill consequents thereof, having in his Majesties opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the Protestant Religion, and given more advantage (or colour at least) to the Romish party, to asperse the Reformed Churches in such sort as we see they do, than their disagreement from the Church of *Rome* in any one controverted point whatsoever hath done.

As to the Apostles Successours.

9. Reply, **H**ere little is said, the substance whereof
17. 18. **H**ath not been answered before; His Majestie therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, That the Apostles were to have no necessary Successors in any thing that was extraordinary either in their Mission or Vnction; that his Majesty spake not of Succession into abilities otherwise than by instance, mentioning other particulars withall; which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned; That in the Apostles Mission or Commission (for his Majesty under the name of Mission comprehendeth both) and consequently in the Apostolicall Office, as there was something extraordinary, so there was something ordinary wherein they were to have Successours; That Bishops are properly their Successours, in the whole Apostolicall Office, so far as it was ordinary, and to have Successours; That therefore the Bishops Office may in regard of that succession, be said to be Apostolicall; That yet it doth not follow that they must needs be called Apostles, taking the denomination from the Office, in as much as the denomination of the Apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given them from
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the Office whereunto they were sent, but (as the word it self rather importeth) from the immediatenesse of their Mission, being sent immediately by Christ himselfe; in respect whereof for distinction sake, and in honour to their persons, it was thought fitter by those that succeeded, in common usage, to abstain from that Denomination, and to be stiled rather by the name of Bishops; That if the Apostles had no Successours, the Presbyters (who are their Successours in part, immediately and subordinately to the Bishops) will be very hard set to prove the warrant of their own Office and Mission; which if not derived from the Apostles (who onely received power of Mission from Christ) by a continued line of Succession, his Majesty seeth not upon what other bottom it can stand.

As to the standing Officers of the Church.

10 Reply, **Y**OU insisted upon two places of Scripture, *Phil. 1. 1.* and *1 Tim. 3.* to prove that there were to be no more standing Officers in the Church, than the two in those places mentioned, (*viz.*) Presbyters (who are there called Bishops) and Deacons; whereunto his Majesties answer was, *That there might be other though not mentioned in those places:* which Answer, though it were alone sufficient, yet *ex abundanti*, his Majesty shewed withall, that supposing your interpretation of the word Bishop in both the places (*viz.* to denote the Office of Presbyter onely) there might yet be given some probable conjectures, which (likewise supposed true) might satisfie us, why that of Bishop in the distinct sense, should not not be needful or proper to be named in those places.

His Majesties former Reason, though in *Hypothesis*, and as applyed to the Church of *Philippi*, it be but conjecturall, yet upon the credit of Ecclesiastical Histories and consideration of the condition of those
times

times, as it is set forth in the Scriptures also, it will appear in *This*, to be undoubtedly true; (*viz.*) That the Apostles themselves first planted Churches; that they were perpetuall Governours and chief of all the Churches whilst they lived; that as the burthen grew greater by the propagation of the Gospell, they assumed others in *partem cura*, committing to their charge the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principall Cities and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *James* at *Ierusalem*, and others in other places, sooner or later, as they saw it expedient for the service of the Church: That the persons so by them appointed, to such peculiar charges, did exercise the powers of Ordination and other Government under the Apostles, and are therefore in the Church-stories called Bishops of those places in a distinct sense; That in some places where the Apostles were themselves more frequently conversant, they did for some while govern the Churches immediately by themselves, before they set Bishops there; and that after the Apostles times, Bishops only were the ordinary Governours of the Churches of Christ: And his Majesty believeth it cannot be proved either from cleare evidence of Scripture, or credible testimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exercised the power either of Ordination at all without a Bishop, or of that which they call Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction in ordinary and by their owne sole Authority, or otherwise, than as it was delegated unto them upon occasion, and for the time by Apostles and Bishops.

For that place of *Phil. 1.1.* in particular, his Majesties purpose being, not to interpret the place (a work fitter for Divines) but to manifest the inconsequence of the Argument, whereby you would conclude but two standing Officers only, because but two

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278 *His Majesties third Paper delivered to*
there named, gave this as one probable conjecture why
there might be no Bishops in distinct senie there
mentioned, because possibly the Apostles had not as
yet set any Bishops over the Church, which his Maje-
sty did not propose as the only, no, nor yet as the
most probable conjecture (for which cause He delivered
it so cautiously, saying only it might be probable) but
as that which for the present came first into his thoughts,
and was sufficient for his purpose, without the least
meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations;
as namely, of those Expositors who take the words
(with the Bishops and Deacons) as belonging to
the persons saluting, and not to be persons saluted;
to this sense, *Paul* and *Timotheus* the servants of Iesus
Christ, with the Bishops and Deacons, to the Saints
at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that
with great probability too, That *Epathroditus* was
then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not to be menti-
oned in the inscription of the Epistle, because he was not
then at *Philippi*, but with *St. Paul* at *Rome* when the
Epistle was written: Any of which conjectures, if they
be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable)
that place of *Phil. 1. 1.* will not do you much service in
this Question.

In the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle
directeth and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly
concerning Ordination of Ministers, that they do it
advisedly, and Ordaine none but such as are meet-
ly qualified for the service of the Church; which di-
rections and admonitions his Majesty believeth for the
substance to belong to all of after-times, as well as unto
them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those
Epistles there should be any particular directions given
concerning the Ordination of Bishops, at least unlesse it
could be made appear, That they were to Ordain some
such in those places, nor perhaps if that could be made

to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the least signification of any difference at all between Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination, both being to be performed by the Bishop, and by imposition of hands, and so both comprehended under that generall rule (*Lay hands suddenly on no man*) but only, and that very little, and scarce considerable (as to the making of distinct Offices) in the qualification of their persons.

The Ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, being to be performed in the same manner, and the same qualifications after a sort, saving such differences as the importance of their severall Offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things) being required in both, it had been sufficient if in those Epistles there had been directions given concerning the Ordination and Qualification of but one sort of Church-Officers only; as in the Epistle to *Titus* we see there are of Presbyters only, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epistle: whence it may be as well concluded, that there was to be no other standing Officer in the Church of *Cress*, but Presbyters only, because *St. Paul* giveth no directions to *Titus* concerning any other, as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other Officers in the Church of *Ephesus*, but Presbyters and Deacons only, because *St. Paul* giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning any other.

As to the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

11. *Reply*, **C**ONCERNING the Judgment of Ecclesiastical Writers about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, his Majesty conceiveth the difference to be more in their Expressions than in their Meaning, some calling it *Divine*, others *Apostolicall*, and some (but not many) *Ecclesiasticall*; but that the superiority of Bishops

above Presbyters began in the Apostles times, and had its foundation in the Institution either of Christ himself or of his Apostles, his Majesty hath not heard (*Aerius* excepted) that any till these latter Ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infallible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the *Catalogues* some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all differences there are in Historiographers, in reciting the succession of the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, and *Macedonian* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in *England*: And wee find far more inextricable intricacies in the *Fasti Consulares*, the Catalogues of the *Roman* Consuls (notwithstanding the great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactnesse of the *Roman* Histories) than are to be found in Episcopall Catalogues, those especially of the chiefeſt Cities, as *Ierusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*, &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in those Countries, and Consuls in *Rome* in those times, so (as you might well foresee would be answered) the discrediting of the Catalogues of Bishops, in respect of some uncertainties (although his Majesty doubteth not but many of the differences you instance in, may be fairely reconciled) tendereth rather to the confirming of the thing it selfe.

That which you say in answer hereunto, That the Ecclesiasticall Writers called them Bishops, in compliance to the Language of their owne times, after the names of Presbyters and Bishops were distinguished, but that they were not indeed Bishops in the proper sense now in question; his Majesty who believeth the
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distinction of those names to have begun presently after the Apostles times (if not rather whilst some of them were living) doth consequently believe, that as they were called so, they were indeed Bishops in that proper sense. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epistles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a Bishop and a meer Presbyter : If *Hierom* only, and some a little Ancienter than he, had applyed the name Bishop to persons that lived some ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to such a compli-
 ciance as you speak of, but that they received both the name and the truth of their Relations from unquestionable Testimonies and Records, his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances : for example, to instance in one only, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angell of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends salutation to him in another as Bishop of *Smyrna*; Many years after *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whose writings were never yet called in question by any) not onely affirms him to have been constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, but saith, *That he himself when he was a Boy had seen him an old Man*; *Tertullian* next, a very ancient writer affirmeth, *That he was Bishop of Smyrna, there Placed by S. Iohn*. After commeth *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiasticall History, not only historically reporteth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops, but citeth also for it the Testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenaeus* (which by the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too.) Then *Hierom* also and others lastly attest the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certaine Testimonies and Grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which

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Testimonies and Records are not all come to our hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, his Majesty saith; First, that though it be not Reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be to made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to excludé all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise, yet his Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the maine Cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himselfe to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but use some earnestnesse of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more lesned the reputation of their own learning, than the Authority of those Epistles in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confesseth notwithstanding the Ancient Fathers gave full credence thereunto.

The Apostles, you say, did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular places; and yet the Bishops of some particulars place are reported in the Catalogues to have been successors to such or such of the Apostles, and even the Names of such Apostles are entred into the Catalogues: To this his Majesty saith, that the Apostles were formally Bishops by vertue of their Mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordaine themselves, nor could be ordained by others, Bishops of such or such particular Cities: Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutuall consent, make choice of their Severall quarters wherein to exercise that function, as well as Saint Peter and Saint Paul by consent went the one to the Circumcision

sion, the other to the Gentiles : But such apporportionments did not entitle them to be properly called Bishops of those places , unlesse any of them by such Agreement did fixedly reside in some City ; of which there is not in the history of the Church any clear unquestionable example : If that JAMES the Lords Brother (who was certainly Bishop of JERUSALEM) were not one of the twelve Apostles , as the more generall opinion is that he was not , yet did the Churches of succeeding times , for the greater honour of their Sees , and the memory of so great Benefactors , enter in the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their Bishops , the Names of such Apostles as had either first planted the Faith , or placed Bishops , or made any long abode and continuance , or ended their dayes among them : yet doth not the true Title of being Successors to the Apostles thereby accrew to the Bishops of those places , more than to other Bishops , but all Bishops are equally Successors to the Apostles in two other respects ; The one , for that they derive their Ordination by a continuall line of Succession from the Apostles : The other , for that they succeed into the same Apostolical power and function , which the Apostles as ordinary Pastors had.

Your motion to reduce this whole dispute to Scripture alone , were the more reasonable , if the matter in question were properly a poynt of Faith : And yet even in poynts of Faith (as the Doctrine of the Trinity , the Canon of Scripture , and sundry other) the uniform judgment of the Church hath been ever held of very considerable regard ; but being a matter of Fact , as before was said , which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perspicuously in any one place together , but obscurely , and by parts , so that the understanding thereof dependeth meerly

upon conjecturall interpretations, and uncertain probabilities; nor assure any certain distinguishing Characters, whereby to discern what therein is extraordinary; what prudentiall, and what of necessary and perpetual Obligation, there seemeth to his Majesty to be a necessity of admitting the sublequent judgment and practice of the Christian Churches into the Tryall.

As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.

12. Reply, **H**IS MAJESTY resteth very much unsatisfied, &c. **H**is Majesty, that you have now againe wholly declined the answering of those three Questions so clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this only pretence, *That the whole volume of Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in them*: Whereas his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or Polemicall Discourse concerning those Questions; but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your Judgment was therein, with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, than which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of his judgment, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelihood better satisfaction to his judgment than he yet findeth or can hope to find from you, so long as you hold off: from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, untill one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his

his Majesty (*viz.*) Either that there is no certaine form of Church Government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civill power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopall, but some other, his Majesty thinks himselfe excusable in the judgment of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolishing of that Government in the Church, which he found here settled to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, untill this last age, and in this Realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the Holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of ENGLAND, as well by their Personall subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himselfe in his judgment and Conscience, hath for these many yeares been, and yet is perswaded to be at least of Apostolicall Institution and practice: Truly his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great slownesse and unwillingnesse to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for a finall conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this Paper) he must plainly tell you, that your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you should worke much upon his judgment, whilst you are fearfull to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Neverthelesse, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer

er in the close of your Paper, and thinketh you should do very well to joyn therewith your utmost possible endeavors towards the settling of Truth, and a happy Peace in this unsetled Church and Kingdom.

HIS MAJESTIES QUÆRE concerning *EASTER*,
propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners
at *Holmby*, April 23. 1647.

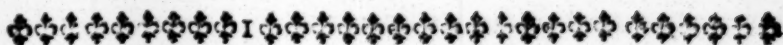
I desire to be resolved of this Question, *why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter?*

The Reason for this *Quære* is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Iewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday; for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one, and instituted the other; Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday: when any body can shew Me that herein I am in an errour, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it. Till when you know My minde.

C. R.

Diverse



Diverse of His MAJESTIES Prayers: Whereof the three last, used by Him in the time of His Restraint, were delivered to the Bishop of *London* at His Death, from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army.

1. *A Prayer used by his Majesty, at his entrance in State into the Cathedral Church of Excester, after he had defeated the Earle of Essex his Forces in Cornwall.*

O Most glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, I here humbly adore Thy most Sacred Majesty; and I blesse and magnifie thy Name, for that thou hast been pleased so often, and so strangely to deliver Me from the strivings of My people. Father forgive them who have thus risen up against Me, and do thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to Me; that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou hast placed Me on, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people in Truth and Peace, through Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

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2. *A Prayer drawn by His Majesties speciall Direction and Discrete, for a blessing on the Treaty at Vx-bridge.*

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech Thee, to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty,

Treaty, begun for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himselfe hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vaine, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their Day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3. *A Prayer drawne by His Majesties speciall directions, for a blessing on the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight.*

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty, brought about by thy providence, and the only visible remedy left for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4 *A Prayer for Pardon of sins.*

A Lmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Iesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternall God! For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden, under pain of thy heavy displeasure: As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not bin long ago consumed: But with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Iesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extrem to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My Naturall corruption. And as thou doest adde days to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to adde repentance to My dayes, that when I have past
this

this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlasting Kingdome, through the merits of Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

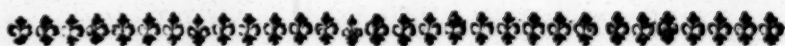
A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Vs any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man having bin so much obliged by Thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a fals pretended way of Iustice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies: for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty! Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine owne Mercies; to which, O let Thy Iustice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people;

people, which Thou hast committed to my charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christs sake our onely Saviour, Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies. But if thy wrath against My hainous offences, will not otherways be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy wil be done; yet, with humble importunity I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my Mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Triall; that so my sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Iesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.



Severall things relating to His MAJESTIES
Death.

1. *Four Queries propounded by His MAJESTY,
when the Armys Remonstrance was read unto Him,
at Newport, concerning the intended tryall of His
Majesty.*

1. **VV** Hether this Remonstrance be agreeable to
the former Declarations of the Army? and
if not, whether the Parliament would make good
their Votes, that after he had consented to what they
desired he should be in a capacity of Honour, Free-
dom, and Safety?

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the guilt of
the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (no-
thing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding)
could be urged so far, as to be made use of by way of e-
vidence against him, or any of his Party?

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a
free and personall Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and
avoid the exactnesse of any of the Conditions, though
in manner and form onely, might be charged against
him as an act of Obstinacy or wilfull persistance in
what is alleged against him, in that he goes on in a
destructive course of enmity against the people, and
the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his
Conscience was not satisfied, concerning divers parti-
culars in the Propositions?

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons char-
ged to offend against the law, ought to be tryed by their
Peers or equals, what the Law is if the person questi-
oned is without a Peer, and if the Law which of it self

is but a dead Letter) seems to condemn him, by what power shall judgement be given; and who shall give it? or from whence shall the administrators of such judgement derive their power, which may (by the same Law) be deemed the supreme power or authority of Magistracy in the Kingdom?

2. *His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Injustice, which he intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22. 1648. but was not permitted.*

HAVING already made My protestations not onely against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly power can justly call Me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case alone concerned. But the duty I ow to God in the preservation of the true liberty of My people, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-borne Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Mee to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* Here about
I was stoppt,
& not suffer-
red to speake
any more
concerning
Reasons.

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the Word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles. 8. 4.* Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well knowne to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House, to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of Englands Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission

on without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seeke; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or doe I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all the pretended trimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *NEWPORT*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner; upon which I account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right; Then for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded; And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulnessse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years; (nor

will I say; what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me do goe on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be to sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the Trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday, 22 January; but against Reason was hindered.

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3. The Names of those persons, who by a pretended Commission, from a few of the late House of Commons (acted therein by the Councell of War) were appointed to judge their *Liege Lord* and *Soveraigne* the King.

SErjeant *John Bradshaw*,
President.
Tho. Lord Fairfax, Gen.

L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwell*.
Com. Gen. *Ireton*.
Major General *Skippon*.

Sir

Sr. Hardresse Waller.
 Col. Valentine Walter.
 Col. Thomas Harrison.
 Col. Edward Whally.
 Col. Thomas Pride.
 Col. Isaac Ewer.
 Col. Richard Ingolsby.
 Sr. Henry Mildmay.
 Sr. Tho. Honeywood.
 Thomas Lord Gray.
 Philip Lord Lisle.
 William Lord Munson.
 Sr. John Danvers.
 Sr. Tho. Maleverer.
 Sr. John Bowcher.
 Sr. James Harrington.
 Sr. Wil. Brereton.
 Rob. Wallop Esq;
 Wil. Henningham Esq.
 Isaac Pennington Alder.
 Tho. Atkins Ald.
 Col. Rouland Wilson.
 Sr. Peter Wentworth.
 Col. Henry Martin.
 Col. Wil. Purefoy.
 Col. Godphrey Bosvill.
 John Trenchard Esq.
 Col. Hanbottle Morley.
 Col. John Berkestead.
 Col. Mat. Tomlinson.
 John Blackestone Esq;
 Gilbert Millington Esq;
 Sir. Wil. Constable.
 Col. Edw. Ludlow.
 Col. John Lambert.
 Col. John Hutchinson.

Sr. Arthur Hazlerige.
 Sir Michael Lewifley.
 Richard Saloway Esq;
 Col. Rob. Tichburn.
 Col. Owen Roe.
 Col. Rob. Manwering.
 Col. Rob. Lilborne.
 Col. Adrian Scroope.
 Col. Richard Dean.
 Col. John Okey.
 Col. Robert Overton.
 Col. John Harrison.
 Col. John Desborough.
 Col. William Goffe.
 Col. Robert Duckenfield.
 Cornelius Holland Esq;
 John Carn Esq;
 Sr. William Armine.
 John Innes Esq;
 Miles Corbet Esq;
 Francis Allen Esq;
 Thomas Lister Esq;
 Ben. Weston Esq;
 Peregrine Pelham Esq;
 John Gourdon Esq;
 Serjeant Francis Iborpe.
 John Nut Esq;
 Tho. Challenour Esq;
 Col. Alg. Sidney.
 John Anlaby Esq;
 Col. John Moor.
 Rich. Darley Esq;
 Wil. Say Esq;
 John Aldred Esq;
 John Flagge Esq;
 James Nelthorp Esq;

Sr. Wil. Roberts.
Col. Francis Laffels.
Col. Alex. Kirby.
Henry Smith Esq;
Edmond Wild Esq;
James Chaloner Esq;
Iosias Barnes Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
John Fray Esq;
Thomas Wogan Esq;
Sr. Gregory Norton.
Col. Edm. Harvey.
John Dove Esq;
Col. John Venne.
John Foulkes Alderman.
Tho. Scot Ald.
Tho. Andrews Ald.
Wil. Cawley Esq;
Abraham Burrell Esq;
Col. Anthony Stapley.
Roger Gratwick Esq;
John Downes Esq;
Col. Tho. Horton.
Col. Tho. Hammond.
Col. George Fenwick.

Serjeant Robert Nichols.
Rob. Reynolds Esq;
John Lisle Esq;
Nicholas Love Esq;
Vincent Potter.
Sr. Gilbert Pickering.
John Weaver Esq;
Roger Hill Esq;
John Lenthall Esq;
Sr. Edward Baynton.
John Corbet Esq;
Tho. Blunt Esq;
Tho. Boone Esq;
Aug. Garland Esq;
Aug. Skinner Esq;
John Dickswell Esq;
Col. George Fleetwood.
Simon Maine Esq;
Col. James Temple.
Col. Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave Esq;
Sr. Peter Temple.
Col Tho. Waite.
John Brown Esq;
John Lowry Esq;
 In all 300.

4. The Names of those persons who presumed at severall times actually to sit as Judges upon their Sovereign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of Death upon Him, with the Names of the Councell and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant *John Bradshaw*,
President.

L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwel.*

Com. Gen. *Ireton.*

Major. Gen. *Skippon.*

Sr. *Hardresse Waller.*

Col. *Tho. Harrison.*

Col. *Edw. VVhalley.*

Col. *Tho. Pride.*

Col. *Isaac Ewer.*

Col. *Rich. Ingolsby.*

Sr. *Henry Mildmay.*

Thomas *Lord Grey.*

Philip *Lord Lisle.*

Wil. *Lord Munson.*

Sr. *John Danvers.*

Sr. *Tho. Maleverer.*

Sr. *John Bowcher.*

St. *James Harrington.*

Sr. *Wil. Brereton.*

Wil. *Henningham Esq;*

Isaac *Pennington Alder.*

Tho. *Atkins Alder.*

Rouland *Wilson Ald.*

Sir *Peter Wentworth.*

Col. *Henry Martin.*

Col. *Wil. Purefoy,*

Col. *Godfrey Bosvil.*

Col. *John Berkestead.*

Sr. *VVil. Constable.*

Col. *Edw. Ludlow.*

Col. *John Hutchinson.*

Col. *Rob. Titchburne.*

Col. *Owen Roe.*

Col. *Adrian Scroop.*

Col. *John Okey.*

Col. *John Harrison.*

Col. *John Desborough.*

Cornelius *Holland Esq;*

Miles *Corbet Esq;*

Francis *Allen Esq;*

Peregrine *Pellham Esq;*

John *Gowrdon Esq;*

Serjeant *Francis Thorp.*

Tho. *Challoner Esq;*

Col. *John Maor.*

John *Alured Esq;*

Col. *Francis Lassells.*

Henry *Smith Esq;*

James *Chaloner Esq;*

Dennis *Bond Esq;*

Humphrey *Edwards Esq;*

Gregory *Clement Esq;*

John *Fry Esq;*

Tho. *VVogan Esq;*

Sir *Gregory Norton.*

Col. *Edmond Harvey.*

John *Dove Esq;*

Col. *Iohn Ver.*
Iohn Foulkes Alderman.
Tho. Scot Ald.
Tho. Andrews Ald.
William Cawly Esq;
Anthony Stareley.
Iohn Lisle Esq;
Iohn Corbet Esq;
Thomas Blunt Esq;
Tho. Boone Esq;
Col. *George Fleetwood.*
Col. *Iames Temple.*
Col. *Iames VVaite.*
Iohn Brown Esq;
Wil. Say Esq;
Col. *Mat. Tomlinson.*
Iohn Flackeston.
Gilbert Millington.

Abraham Barrell.
Col. *Iohn Downes.*
Mr. *Norton.*
L. Gen. *Tho. Hammond.*
Nicholas Love.
Augustine Garland.
Sir *Miles Levesey.*
Iohn Dexwel.
Simon Mayre.
Daniel Blagrove.
Col. *Robert Lilburne.*
Col. *Rich. Deane.*
Col. *Hepfen.*
L. Col. *Wil. Goffe.*
Mr. *Carew.*
Io. Jones.
92. In all.

Counsellours assistants to draw up the Charge against the King.

Dr. *Isaac Dorlaus*, Mr. *Ask*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Steele*, (who by reason of sicknesse was absent.)

Serjeant *Danby*, Serjeant at Arms, Mr. *Phelps* Clerk.
Messengers and Door-keepers.

Mr. *VValford*, Mr. *Radly*, Mr. *Paine*, Mr. *Howel*, Mr. *Hull*. And Mr *King Cryer*.

5. *A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester the day before His Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet him, He first gave His blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bade her remember to tell her Brother *Iames*, when ever she

she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No, (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon His knee, said, Sweetheart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the Childe looked very stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charles* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last; and therefore I charge you doe not be made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths owne Hand.

VVhat the King said to Me the 29 of Jan. 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to Me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; because He feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment

ment My self for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He should dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid Me read Bishop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Polity*, and Bishop *Laud's* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and My Brother, to be obedient to her: And bid me send His blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after he had given me His blessing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had beene most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also, to their own Souls: and desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should dye a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that wee should be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived: with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

7. Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of *Gloucester*, that He would say nothing to Him, but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, That He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing
not

not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soule, for he had two Brothers before him, and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unlesse it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to feare the Lord, and he would provide for him.

8. *A Copy of a Letter from the PRINCE to the KING, dated from the HAGUE January 23. 1648.*

S I R,

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertaine) Report, I have sent this Bearer *Scamour* to wait upon Your Majesty, and to bring Me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majesty, I doe not onely pray for Your Majesty according to My Duty; but shall allwayes be ready to do all which shall be in My power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majesty, upon

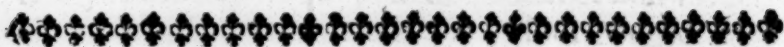
SIR,

*Your Majesties most humble
and most obedient Son and
Servant.*

*Hague, Jan. 23.
1648.*

CHARLS.

The Supercription was thus, For the King.



His MAJESTIES last Speech on the Scaffold at
His Martyrdom, Jan. 30. 1648.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what His Enemies have set forth, nor had his Majesty any Copy (being surprized, and hastned by those that thirsted after His blood,) save onely a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Bishop of *London*, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sence perfect, which either wilfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as tis thought) and turning himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect.

I Shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace, would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt, as well as to the punishment: But I think it is My duty to God first, and then to My Countrey, to cleare My selfe both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I shall begin first with My innocency, and in troth, I think it not very needfull for Me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witnesse, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their Privileges, they began upon Me, it is the *Militia* they began upon; they confest that the *Militia* was Mine, but they thought fit for to have it from Me; and to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions & Mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I; so that as for the guilt of these Enormous crimes that are laid against Me, I hope that God will clear Me of it: I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments betweene them and Me, have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed; so that, as I finde My selfe clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon Me: Many times he does pay Iustice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary: I wil onely say this, That an unjust * sentence (*E. of Strafford.*) that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjust Sentence upon Me; so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian; I hope there is (*Pointing to D. Juxon B. of London*) a good man that will bear Me witnesse, that I have forgiven all the Word; and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of My Death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them.

But

But this is not all, My charity must goe farther, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular; I pray God with *S. Stephen*; *That this be not laid to their charge*; and withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for My charity commands Me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom: So (Sirs) I do wish with all My Soul; (I see there is some here will carry it further) (*Turning to some that wrote*) that they may endeavor the peace of the Kingdom.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way; first you are out of the way; for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as far as I could finde by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest in My opinion is never just, except there be a good and a just Cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you goe beyond the first quarrel that you have, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: For if there be onely matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pyrat said to *Alexander*, that he was the great Robber, himselfe was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, I do thinke for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way.

Now Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never prosper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due (that is, My Successour) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you.

You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of order, and to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this, A National Synod
freely

freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not, the Lawes of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns My own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things; and therefore, untill you do that, I mean, That you doe put the people into that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs it was for this, that now I am hither come: for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray GOD it bee not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer; I will onely say this to you, That I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested, then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse Me.

I have delivered My Conscience, I pray God, that you doe take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Bishop of *London*. Will your Majesty (though it be very well known what your Majesties affections are

are to Religion, yet because it may be expected, that You should say somewhat) declare your self for the Worlds satisfaction in that point.

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that I had almost forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World ; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian according to the profession of the Church of *England*, as I found it left to Me by My Father; and this honest man (* pointing to the Bishop;) I think will witnesse it. Then turning to the Officers He said, Sirs excuse Me for this same. I have a good Cause, and I have gracious God ; I will say no more.

Bishop of London. There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But you may consider it will soon carry You from Earth to Heaven; and there You shall finde a great deal of Cordial Joy, and Comfort.

King. I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be ; no disturbance in the World.

The Bishop. You are exchanged from a temporal to an external Crown; a good exchange.

Then the King, after some short and fervent ejaculations in private, with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven ; immediately stooping down, laid His neck upon the block : And then the Wretch appointed to give the fatall blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King said, stay for the signe.

And after a very little pause, stretching forth His hands, The Villain at one blow , severed His Head from His Body.

*Sic cecidit Carolus, sic universa simul
Britannia.*

Lam. 4. 20. *The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.*

Chap. 5. 15, 16, 17. *The Joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning.*

The Crown is fallen from our Head, we unto us that we have sinned.

For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes are dim.

The Names of the Pretended Mayor and Aldermen of *London* that personally proclaimed the Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government.

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| <p>Ald. <i>Andrews</i> Mayor, Alder. <i>Pennington</i>, Alderman <i>Foulks</i>. Alderman <i>Kerrick</i>, Alderman <i>Byde</i>, Alderman <i>Edmonds</i>, Alderman <i>Pack</i>,</p> | <p>Alderman <i>Bateman</i>, Alderman <i>Atkins</i>, Alderman <i>Venne</i>, Alderman <i>Avery</i>, Alderman <i>Wilson</i>, Alderman <i>Dethick</i>, Alderman <i>Foot</i>.</p> |
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Proclaimed *May* 30. 1649.

A Speech made in Latine, by Dr. *Lotius*, to King CHARLS the Second, in the name of the Consistory of *Hague*, and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of King CHARLS the First, 7. *Calend. Martis*, 1649.

SERENISSIME REX.

Visum est Deo, summo rerum Arbitro ac Moderatori, grave vulnus infligere SERENISSIMÆ

Ec

FA

FAMILIÆ TVÆ MAIESTATIS, cujus & nos sensu tacti, adsumus, ut si quod Magnus Paracletus consolationis suggesserit Verbum, MAIESTATIS TVÆ in sinum expromamus.

Magna nobis pars solatii, & cum eo Patientiæ perit sapius, cum nimium intenti instrumentis & causis secundis, verberantem Dei manum non, ut oportet, consideramus. Nos ii non sumus, SERENISSIME REX, qui eos velimus excusatos, quorum Horrendum Facinus tam alti doloris causa est, absit, absit. Testamur enim coram Deo nostro, cui in Spiritu servimus, nos illud *auditum paricidium*, illam *execrandam laniationem* Sacrosancti & Uncti Capitis & æternum deplorandam *apici* reformatæ Professionis Regis mactationem ex animo *detestari*. Quippe ni; cum *Sacrilegum* hoc *Scelus* directe impugnet Deum *per quem Reges regnant*, ejus verbum in Scriptura comprehensum, tibi quæ CÆSARIS sunt, CÆSARI danda voluit; qui Regum Rex est; imò injuriam faciat summam Rationi, Humanitati, & communi subjectorum Societati, & ostendat quid sit esse INDEPENDENTEM.

Quod volumus SERENISSIME REX, hoc est, adoranda esse, & probanda illa in Deo Iudicia, quæ ut ingrata à nobis sunt & occulta sapè, semper tamen justa. Quibus annumeranda præcipuè veniunt ea, quando per impios Dens probos exercet, vultque ut sui gemant sub pressura *Alienigenarum* (*ANGLOS enim eos non agnoscimus qui in Legitimum REGEM ANGLIÆ insurgunt*) quod tamen, quod solenne fit, non est quod è Scripturis utriusque Testamenti probemus, cum gravis hujus TUÆ MAIESTATIS SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ afflictio abundè testimonio sit & documento. Ubi nihil nobis Christianis reliqui quam eum Regio vate ingeminare, *Tacui Domine quia tu fecisti*, respicere ad castigantem Dei Dextram; Animam possidere in patientia; forti Ultori Causam suam

commendare, & Patrocinium; quinimò, pro inimicis intercedere apud Deum: sic prævit *Regia & jam in & cum CHRISTO suo* *foelix Anima* SERENISSIMI TUÆ MAIESTATIS PARENTIS, ad exemplum Salvatoris & Protomartyris *Stephani*: ut reversi ad Dominum Deum serio pœnitentiam agant, apudque eum culpam confessi & deprecati, & ad Dominum suum redeant & quoque ad officium, & debitam obedientiam; quod nos fore maximum ad veram Consolationem compendium existimamus. Quæ quidem consolatio tum demum vim exercebit suam, cum voluntas nostra, se supremæ voluntati subjecerit, atque actu ipso probaverit, nos non frustra, aut minus attentè, toties apud Deum exclamasse, Fiat voluntas tua.

Commendamus insuper TUÆ MAIESTATI curam ac defensionem Religionis Reformatæ, cujus in Anglia Palladium in Synodi Nationalis Canonibus constare, *qui inter Beatos jam triumphat, in Articulo* MORTIS REX PIENTISSIMVS declaravit; quod nos certè non abnuimus: quam Religionem ut factam rectam habere velit TUAM MAIESTATEM obnixè obsecramus. Quod superest, veneramur, venerabimurque summum illud Numen, ut TUAM MAIESTATEM Spiritu suo in Cœlis induat; salutaribus Consiliis, & Consiliariis instruat; patientiam illi largiatur; Sceptrum confirmet; totamque adeo SERENISSIMAM FAMILIAM *in integram* restituat; & interim consoletur: Faxit hoc Pater Misericordiarum & omnis Consolationis in Christo per Spiritum Sanctum. *Amen.*

12. The same done into English.

Most gracious King,

I hath pleased God, the Supreme Iudge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTIES *most Renowned Family*: With the sense whereof we likewise being deeply touched, are here present, that if the great Comforter shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us; when, being too intent upon instrumentall and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. Wee are none of those (*most Gracious KING*) who would any way excuse them, whose *Horrible Villany* is the cause of so deep a sorrow. *God forbid! God forbid.*

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do detest from our souls, that *never til now heard of Paricide*, that *execrable Butchery* of the SACRED AND ANOINTED HEAD, and that eternally to be lamented *Murther* of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religion. And why not? When as this *curfed* and *Sacrilegious wickednesse* does directly fight against God, *By Whom Kings Reigne*; against his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is King of King, wils and commands us, to *give unto Caesar the things which are Caesars*. Yea, and which does the highest affront that can be, to *Reason, Humnity*, and the common *society of Subjects*: And (in a word) shews what it is to be an *Independent*.

Most Renowned King, our desire is, That the judgments of God be adored and approved of; which, however they may be *irksome* unto us, and oft-times

secret

secret, yet they are alwayes *just*. Among which, these are especially to be numbred, *viz.* when God tryeth and exerciseth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleased that his *own* should groan under the pressure of *Strangers* (*'For we do not acknowledge them to be* *'ENGLISH-MEN, who do rise up against the lawfull* *'KING OF ENGLAND.*) Which yet, that it is frequent and usuall, there is no need wee should fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the *Old* and *New Testament*; When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your MAJESTIES most *Renowned Family*, is an abundant testimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us Christians, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the Kingly Prophet, *Lord, I opened not my mouth, for thou didst it*; to look up to the chastising right hand of God; to *possesse the soul in patience*; to commend his own *Cause* and the defence thereof to the *Mighty Avenger*; Yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our *Enemies*, as the *Royal Soul of your MAJESTIES most Royall Father*, who is *now happy in, and with his Christ*, has led the way, after the *Example of our Saviour*, and the Protomartyr *S. Stephen*: That they turning to the LORD our GOD may seriously repent, and confessing this their great wickednesse unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same, may likewise return to their Liege-LORD, as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and compendious way to true consolation. Which consolation shall then at length exercise its full vigour, when *our will* shall have submitted it self to the *supreme will* of GOD, and have evidenced *actually and indeed*, that we have not in vain, or lesse diligently, so often cried aloud unto GOD, *Thy will be done*.

We further commend to Your *Sacred MAJESTY* the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religi-

on; whose very *safe-guard* or *Sanctuary* in *England*, He (that *Most Religious KING*) who now triumphs among the blessed did declare to the World at the point of death to rest in the *Canons* of a *National Synod* *. Which truly we can in no wise deny. Which Religion we do earnestly beseech, that Your MAJESTY would preserve safe and entire. * See the Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

For the rest, we doe, and ever will pray unto the most high God, to endue your MAJESTY with his heavenly Spirit; and to furnish you with saving *Counsels*, and faithful *Counsellours*; to grant you patience, to establish Your Throne, and so to restore Your whole MOST ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY to their full Rights; and in the mean while to comfort them.

The Father of mercies, and of all consolation, grant this in *Jesus Christ* by his holy Spirit. Amen.

Severall Verses made by divers Persons upon His Majesties Death.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO falls that Stately Cedar, while it stood,
That was the onely Glory of the Wood.
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a Span,
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heavenly Vertues Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse.
He that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book;
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
Hee'l finde thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too;
And

And sadly see our loss; and, though in vaine,
With fruitless Wishes call Thee back againe.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hearle,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse.
Thy sufferings and Thy Death let no man name;
It was thy *Glory* but the Kingdoms *Shame*.

I. H.

Another :

HE that can spel a Sigh, or read a Tear,
Pronounce amazement, or Accent wild Fear:
Having all Grief by Heart, He, only He
Is fit to write and read thy Elegy
Unvalued CHARLES: Thou art so hard a Text,
Writ in one Age, not understood i'th' next.

Another :

Within this Sacred *Vault* doth lye
The Quintessence of M A J E S T Y;
Which being Set, more Glorious shines;
The best of *Kings*, best of Divines;
Britans shame, and *Britans* glory,
Mirror of Princes, compleat Story
Of *Royalty*, One so exact;
That th' *Elixers* of praise detract:
These are faint Shadows: But t'endure,
He's drawn to th' Life in's POURTRAICTURE:
If such another *Piece* you'l see,
Angels must Limn it out, or He;
Where Wisdom, Grace and Eloquence,
Are Centred in their Eminence.
Marty'd He was to save His Laws,
Religion, People, from the Jaws

Severall things relating to
 OF ASSASINES; whose weal he fought,
 Even then when they his *Murder* wrought
 With horrid Plots, that *headlesse* He
 (And in Him Church and State) might be.
 Then since Correlatives they were,
Three Kingdoms in one KING lies here.

A. B.

Upon the Picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair
 before the High Court of Injustice.

4
Not so Majestick in thy Chair of State!
 On that but Men, here God and Angels wait:
 Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
 Of Death can move thee from thy Kingly sphear
 Constant and fixt, whom no black storms can soyl,
 Thy Colours, Head, and Soule, are all in oyl.

Upon the Picture of his Majesty in His Blew Waistcoat.

5.
Here shines in a Field *Azure* such a Star,
 As at whose Fall Kingdoms amazed are.
 Fixt by his fall. Chief of the sparkling train,
 'Bove *Ariadnes* Crown, or his own Wayn.
 Look! what a ray he darts? So *Moses* shone
 While stupid *Israel* 'fore a Calf was thrown.
 Onely the difference make, you must account
 Him coming from, this going to the Mount.

Upon the Death of King CHARLS the first.

6
Great! Good! and Just! could I but rate
 My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,

I'de

*I'de weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once againe.*

*But since thy loud-rong'd blood demands supply
More from Briareus hands than Argus eye,
I'le sing thy Obsequies with Trumpets sounds
And write thy Epitaph with blood and wounds.*

MONTROSSE.

Written with the point of his Sword.

7

*A Deep Groan at the Funerall of that incomparable and
glorious Monarch Charls the first.*

TO speak our Grievs at full over thy Tombe
(Great Soule) we should be Thunder-struck and
The Triviall Offerings of our bubling eyes (dumbe;
Are but fair Libels at such Obsequies.
When grief bleeds inward, not to sense, tis deep;
W'have lost so much, that 'twere a sin to weep.
The wretched Bankrupt counts not up his summes,
When his inevitable ruine comes:
Our losse is finite when we can compute;
But that strikes speechlesse, which is past recruit.
W'are sunk to sense, and on the ruine gaze,
As on a curled Comets fire blaze,
And Earthquakes fright us when the teeming Earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatall birth;
As inundations seize our trembling eyes,
Whose rowling billowes over Kingdoms rise.
Alas! our ruines are cast up, and sped
In that black Totall--*Charls* is murdered.
Rebellious Gyant hands have broke that Pole,
On which our Orbe did long in glory roul.
That *Roman Monster's* wish in act we see.
Three Kingdoms necks have felt the Ax in Thee.
The Butchery is such as when by *Cain*,
The fourth division of the World was slain.

The

The mangled Church is on the shambles lay'd,
 Her Massacre is on thy Block display'd,
 Thine is the peoples epidemick Tombe,
 Thy Sacrifice a num'rous *Hecatombes*.
 The Powder-Mine's now fir'd; we were not freed,
 But respited by Traytors thus to bleed.
November's plots are brew'd and broach'd in worse,
 And *Iannary* now compleats the Curse.
 Our Lives, Estates, Laws, and Religion, all
 Lie crush'd and gnashing in this dismall fall.

Accursed day that blottedst out our Light!
 May'st thou be ever muffled up in Night.
 At thy return may fables hang the skie;
 And tears, not beams, distil from Heavens Eye.
 Curs'd be that smile that gilds a Face on thee,
 The Mother of prodigious Villanie.
 Let not a breath be wofed but in moans,
 And all our words be but articulate groans.
 May all thy *Rubrick* be this dismall Brand;
 Now comes the miscreant Dooms-day of the Land,
Good-Fiday wretchedly transcrib'd; and such
 As Honour brings alike, though not so much;
 May Dread still fill thy minutes, and we sit
 Frighted to think what others durst commit.
 A Fact that copies Angels when they fell,
 And justly might create another Hell.
 Above the scale of Crimes; Treason sublim'd,
 That cannot by a parallel be rim'd.
Ravilliacks was but under-graduate sin,
 And Gowry here a Papil Assassin.
Infidel wickedness, without the *Pale*;
 Yet such as justifies the Canniball.
 Ryot Apocryphal, of *Legend* breed;
 Above the Canon of a Jesuites Creed.
 Spirits of witchcraft: quintessentially guilt;
 Hells *Pyramid*; another *Babel* built.

Monstrous in bulk; above our Fancies span;
A *Behemoth*, a crime *Leviathan*.

So desperately damnable, that here
Ev'n *Wildsmels* Treason, and will not appear.
That murdering-peece of the new Tyrant-State,
By whom't hath shot black Destinies of late;
He that belch'd forth the Loyall *Barlieghs* doom,
Recoyles at this so dreadful Martyrdom.
What depth of terrour lies in that offence,
That thus can grinde a seared Conscience?

Hellish Complotment! which a League renewes,
Lesse with the men, than th'actions of the Jews.
Such was their Bedlam Rabble, and the Cry
Of *Iustice* now, 'mongst them was *Crucifie*:
Pilates Consent is *Bradshaws* Sentence here;
The *Iudgement Hall's* remov'd to *Westminster*.
Hayle to the Reeden Scepter; th' Head, and knee
Act o're again that Cursed Pag'antry.
The Caitiffe crew in solemn pomp guard on
Mock'd Majesty as not to th' Block but Throne:
The Belch agrees of those envenom'd Lyes;
There a Blasphemer, here a Murd'rer dyes.
If that goe first in horror, this comes next,
A pregnant Comment on that gassly Text.
The Heav'ns ne're saw, but in that Tragick hour,
Slaughter'd so great an *Innocence* and *Power*.

Blood-thirsty Tygers! could no stream suffice
T' allay that Hell within your breasts but this?
Must you needs swill in *Cleopatra's* Cup,
And drink the price of Kingdoms in a sup?
Cisterns of Loyalty have deeply bled
And now y'have damm'd the Royall Fountain Head.
Cruel *Pleboromy*! at once to drain
The *Median*, and the rich *Basilick* vein:
The tinctures great that popular murther brings,
Tis Scarlet deep, that's dy'd in blood of Kings.

But

But what, could *Israel* finde no other way
 To their wish'd *Canaan* than through the Red Sea?
 Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
 And he be th' Guide to this outrageous Crowd?
 Shall the black *Conclave* counterfeite his hand,
 And superscribe their Guilt, *Divine command*?
 Doth th' ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace?
 And Holy-water wash the Devils face!
 Shall *Dagons* Temple the mock'd Ark inclose?
 Can *Esaus* hands agree with *Jacobs* voice?
 Must *Molechs* fire now on the Altar burn?
 And *Abels* blood to Expiation turn?
 Is Righteousnesse so lewd a Baw'd? and can
 The Bibles Cover serve the Alcoran?
 Thus when Heli's meant, Religion's bid to shine
 As *Faux* his Lantern lights him to his mine.
 Here, here is sins *non ultra*, when one Lie,
 Kils this, and stabs at sacred *Majesty*,
 And though his sleepy arm suspend the scourge
 Nor doth loud blood in winged Vengeance urge,
 Though the soft hours awhile in pleasure flye,
 And conquering Treason, sing her Lullabie;
 The guilt at length in fury hee'l inroul
 With barbed arrows on the traitrous soul.
 Time may be when that *Iohn-a-Leyden* King.
 His Quarters to this Tombe an Offring bring,
 And that *Re-Munster'd* Rabble may have eyes
 To read the price of their dear Butcheries:
 Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
 The judgement will be deeper though 't be late.
 And after-times shall feel the curse enhanc'd,
 But how much they've the sin bequeath'd, advanc'd.
 Mean time (most blessed shade the Loyall Eye
 Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory.

Thy

Thy *Aromatick* Name shall feast our sense,
'Bove balmy *Spiknards* fragrant Redolence,
Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell,
A plague-sore, blayn, and rotten Ulcers smell.
Wonder of men and goodnesse ! stamp'd to be
The Pride, and flourish of all History.
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
All th'Heroes glory which the Earth e're lost.
Thy privilege tis onely to commence
Laureate in Sufferings, and in patience.
Thy wrongs were bove all sweetnesse to digest,
And yet thy sweetnesse conquer'd the sharp test :
Both so immense and infinitely vast,
The first could not be reach'd but by the last.
Mean Massacres are but in death begun ;
But thou hast liv'd an execution.
Close coffin'd up in a deceased Life;
Had Orphan-Children, and a Widow-Wife .
Friends not t' approach, or comfort, but to mourn
And weep thy un-heard plaints, as at thy urn?
Such black attendants Colonied thy Cell,
But for thy presence *Car'sbrook* had been Hell.
Thus basely to be Dungeond, would enrage
Great *Bajazet* beyond an Iron Cage.
That deep indignity well might have layn
Something the lighter from a *Tamerlain*.
But here *Sidonian* Slaves usurpe the Reins,
And lock the Scepter-bearing arms in chains.
The spew'd-up surfeit of the glut'nous Land :
Honour'd by scorn, and clean beneath all brand.
For such a Varlet-Brood to tear all down,
And make a common Foot-ball of the Crown,
T'insult on wounded Majesty, and broach,
The blood of Honour by their vile reproach,

What

What royall eye but thine could sober see,
 Bowing so low, yet bearing up so high?
 What an unbroken sweetnesse grac'd thy Soul;
 Beyond the world, proud conquest, or controul?
 Maugre grim cruelty, thou keepst thy hold;
 Thy thorny Crown was still a Crown of Gold.
 Chaste Honour, Might enrag'd could ne're deflour,
 Though others th' Use, Thou claim'dst the Right of
 power.

The brave *Athenian* thus (with lopp'd-off Hands)
 A stop to swelling sayls by's mouth commands.
 New Vigour rouz'd Thee still in-thy Embroyls
Anteus like, recruiting from the Foyles.
 Victorious fury could not terrour bring
 Enough to quell a captivated King.
 So did that *Roman Miracle* withstand
Hetrurian shoals but with a single hand.
 The Church in thee had still her Armies; thus
 The World once fought with *Athanasius*.
 The Gantlet thus upheld; it is decred,
 (No safety else for Treason) *Charls* must bleed.
 Traytour and Soveraigne now inverted meet;
 The wealthy Olives drag'd to th' Brambles feet.
 The throne is metamorphoz'd to the Barre,
 And despicable Bats the Eagle dare.
 Astonishment! yet still we must admire
 Thy courage growing with thy conflicts high'r.
 No palsied hands or trembling knees betray
 That Cause, on which thy soule sure bottom'd lay.
 So free and undisturbed flew thy Breath,
 Not as condemn'd, but purchasing a Death.
 Those early Martyrs in their funeral pile
 Embrac'd their Flames with such a quiet smile.

Brave *Cœur-de-Lyon* Soul, that would'st not vail
 In one base syllable to beg thy Bayl!
 How did'st thou blush to live at such a price,
 As ask'd thy people for a sacrifice?
 Th' *Athenian Prince* in such a pitch of zeal,
 Redeem'd his destin'd Host, and commonweal;
 Who brib'd his cheated Enemies to kill,
 And both their Conquest, and their Conquerour fell,
 Thus thou our Martyr dy'd'st: but oh! we stand
 A Ransome for another *Charls* his Hand.
 One that will write thy Chronicle in Red,
 And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
 Shall treas'rous Heads in purple Caldrons drench,
 And with such veins the flames of Kingdoms quench,
 Then thou art least at *Westminster*, shalt be
 Fill'd in the pompous List of Majesty.
 Thou *Mausoleum* shall in glory rise,
 And tears, and wonder force from Nephews Eyes.
 Till when (though black-mouth'd *miscreants* engrave)
 No Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave,
 A Vault of Loyalty shall keep thy Name,
 An orient, and bright *Olibian* flame.
 On which, when times succeeding foot shall tread,
 Such Characters as these shal there be read.

Here *Charls* the best of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;

The Glory of all *Martyrologies*.

Bulwak of Law; the Churches Cittadel;
 In whom they triumph'd once, with whom they fell:
 An English *Solomon*, a *Constantine*;
 Pandect of Knowledge, Humane and Divine.
 Meeke ev'n to wonder, yet of stoutest Grace,
 To sweeten Majesty, but not debase.
 So whole made up of clemency, the Throne
 And Mercy-seat to Him were alwayes one.

Inviting

Inviting Treason with a pardoning look,
 Instead of Gratitude, a stab he took.
 With passion lov'd, that when He mured lay,
 Hea v'n conquered seem'd, and Hell to bear the way,
 A Prince so richly good, so blest a Reign,
 The world ne're saw but one, nor can again.

—— *Humano generi Natura benigna*
Nil dedit, aut tribuet moderato hoc principe majus,
In quo vera dei, vivensque eluxit imago:
Hunc quoniam scelerata cohors violavit, acerbis
Sacrilego Deus ipse petet de sanguine penas,
Contemprumq; sui Simulachri baud linquet inultum.

Parodia ex Buchanani Geneth : Jacobi sexti.
 D. H. K.

FINIS.

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C2073

